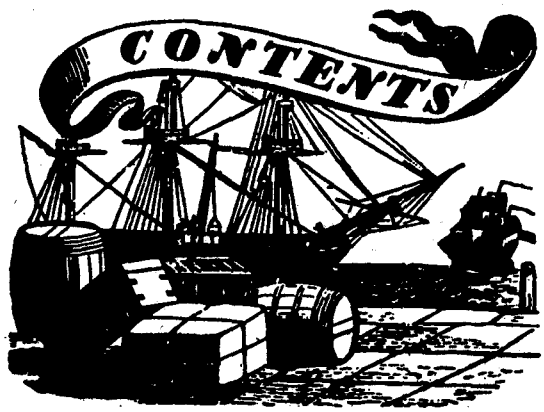
NUMBER 247

The Progressive Review

APRIL 1985

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Weather Report....8
Interview with Two Former CIA Officials....13
The Reagan File....20
Topics....22
Natural Lawn Movement....25
The Terminal Fix....26
Apple Pie....28
Archihorse....29
City Desk....30
Letters to the Editor....33
London Letter....34
Charles McDowell....35
Eugene McCarthy....36
Things to Read & Do....37
Chuck Stone....38
Cracks in the Alliance....40

Published approximately ten times a year. Single copies by mail are $1 each. Ten issue subscription: $6. Twenty issue subscription: $10. The Review uses the services of Pacific News Service, Rip'n'Read News Service, College Press Service and HerSay News Service.The Review welcomes articles and letters but unfortunately cannot pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped self-addressed envelope if you wish the material returned. Deadline for editorial and advertising matter is the 15th of the month.

EDITOR: Sam Smith
CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS: Charles McDowell, Chuck Stone, Eugene McCarthy, Des Wilson
CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW
1739 Connecticut Ave NW DC 20009
202-232-5544

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BERNIE SANDERS REELECTED: America's only socialist mayor, Bernie Sanders of Burlington, Vt., was reelected recently for a third term, winning 55% of the vote in a race against five other candidates. Meanwhile some six dozen Vermont communities approved resolutions calling for action against acid rain.

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS BOYCOTT COMMISSION: Major civil rights groups recently boycotted hearings of the Civil Rights Commission to protest the increasingly reactionary tenor of that body. Said Rep. Parren Mitchell to chair Clarence Pendleton Jr. at the hearing: "You neither deserve my response to any question, nor do you deserve any recognition, nor do you deserve any respect." Mitchell then walked out of the hearing.

CANADA MOVES AGAINST ACID RAIN: The Canadian government says it will attempt to reduce airborne emissions of sulfur and nitrogen by 50% in eastern Canada over the next nine years. Included in the program are funds for cleaning up smelters and the adoption of stronger vehicle emission standards. Meanwhile, Canadian officials say that half of their acid rain comes from the United States, where the Reagan administration has stonewalled efforts to take action on the problem.

PENTAGON ACCEPTS "NUCLEAR WINTER" CONCEPT: A study by the Pentagon admits that a nuclear war could cause what is commonly referred to as the "nuclear winter" — a cooling of the earth due to an atmospheric screen of smoke and dust. Temperatures could drop as much as 75 degrees. Said the report: "Even with widely ranging and unpredictable weather, the destructiveness for human survival of the less severe climatic effects might be of a scale similar to the other horrors associated with nuclear war." But, concludes the study, this possibility doesn't mean what many critics think, since the Reagan arms buildup and the Star Wars scheme are "fundamentally sound" ways of deterring nuclear war.

MIRANDA WEAKENED: In a new exception to the Miranda rule, the Supreme Court has ruled, 6-3, that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

College Press Service

suspects who confess before being advised of their rights and then repeat the confession after the warning do not have their constitutional rights violated if that latter confession is used as evidence.

EPA ATTACKS LEADED GAS: In a rare case of the Reagan administration doing something useful, the EPA has ordered the removal of 90% of the lead in leaded gasoline by the end of the year. It says it may ban the lead entirely by 1988. The agency says that 80% of airborne lead comes from leaded gas. And there is new evidence that the lead contributes to high blood pressure.

STUDENT AID GOES TO NEEDIEST: Nearly 90% of all student financial aid goes to students who need the money, says a new study which challenges the Reagan administration's claims to the contrary. The study, by University of Wisconsin professor Jacob Stampen, found that only about ten percent of financial aid awarded in 1983-84 came from such "non-need" programs as Veteran Administration funds or merit scholarships. Says Stampen, "Each time experts look at these programs, they see two things. First, the money goes to the people who need it, and second, the programs work. Without student aid, lots of these people wouldn't be in school."

MILITARY PENSIONS: A study by the Center of Budget and Policy Priorities has found that sixty percent of all military retirement benefits go to the wealthiest fifth of all US households. Further, the wealthiest fifth of the population receives twice as much in military pension benefits as the poorest fifth receives either from supplementary security income or food stamps. The report also states that:

- The annual cost of the military retirement system is larger than that of food stamps, AFDC and supplementary security income combined.
- Unfinanced liabilities for the program rose 58% between 1979 and 1983.
- The benefits go to a small elite within the military. Only 13 percent of the service personnel entering the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

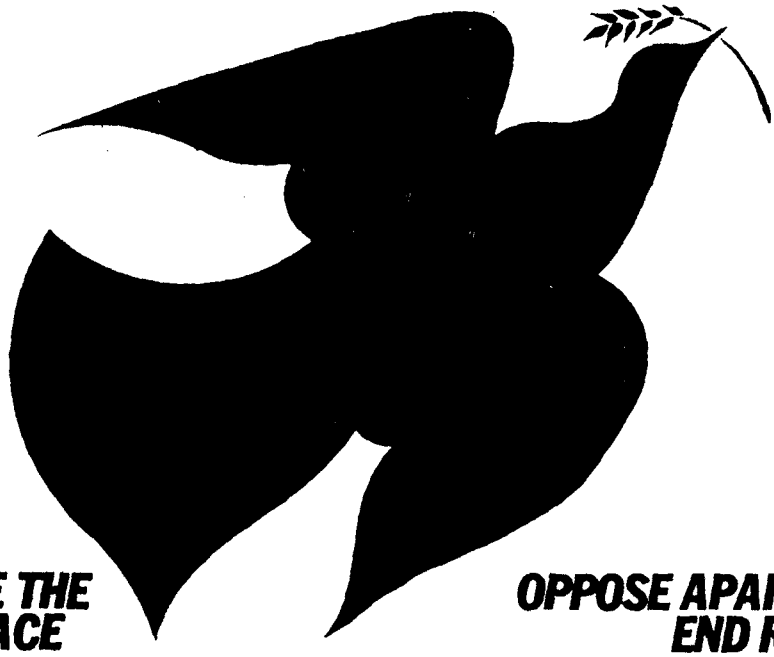
4 DAYS IN APRIL

NO INTERVENTION

Stop U.S. military intervention in Central America. *Support human freedom and dignity by also ending intervention in the Caribbean, the Middle East, Asia, the Pacific and Europe.*

BUILD A JUST SOCIETY

Create jobs; cut the military budget. *Provide for human needs and challenge racism and discrimination based on sex and sexual orientation.*



REVERSE THE ARMS RACE

Freeze and reverse the arms race *beginning with a halt on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons.*

OPPOSE APARTHEID/ END RACISM

Oppose U.S. government and corporate support for South African apartheid and overcome racism at home.

APRIL 19-22 • PROTEST IN WASHINGTON DC

ALSO JOIN IN **LOCAL ACTIONS ON TAX DAY, APRIL 15.**

CALENDAR OF ACTIONS

MONDAY
APRIL 15
TAX DAY -- local activities throughout the country.

FRIDAY
APRIL 19
Educational and cultural events in Washington DC.

SATURDAY
APRIL 20
Massive march and rally in Washington DC. The day will begin with gatherings at several sites throughout Washington, marches will then feed into one another and culminate with a brief final rally.

SUNDAY
APRIL 21
Training sessions for lobbying and nonviolent civil disobedience on Monday. Educational and cultural activities.

MONDAY
APRIL 22
Lobbying at Congressional offices on Capitol Hill and nonviolent civil disobedience at selected sites throughout Washington DC.

Major activities are also being planned for San Francisco, Los Angeles and Seattle to coincide with the Washington, DC mobilization.

For information, call the War Resisters League, 212-228-0450

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

military today will serve long enough to qualify. Most men who serve in combat never get any retirement pay.

- The median age at which military personnel begin collecting benefits is 41.

Supreme Court refuses to hear sex case: The Supreme Court has declined to hear a case involving a high school guidance counsellor who was fired from her job after she revealed she was bisexual. A court of appeals had reversed a lower court decision, saying that the dismissal did not violate the woman's constitutional rights of free speech.

Kids to visit inmate moms: Massachusetts is now allowing women inmates to have private overnight visits with their children. Some 70% of of the state's female inmates have children. Other states that have taken steps to allow children to visit mothers in prison are Iowa, New Jersey and Minnesota.

Legal fees immune from seizure: A federal judge in Colorado has rejected an attempt by the federal government to seize lawyer fees paid by convicted racketeers and drug dealers. The decision was the first ruling on this part of the controversial and constitutionally dubious '84 crime bill

The UN & Pacifism

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights is considering the question of conscientious objection as a human right.

According to Judith Baker of the Quaker United Nations Office, aspects of conscientious objection have been considered or promoted by various groups in the UN since 1949. Since 1971, Says Baker, the Netherlands has taken the lead in pursuing the matter. The Quaker United Nations Office is coordinating activity by non-governmental organizations in support of conscientious objection.

At this session of the Commission on Human Rights, debate will focus on a comprehensive report, "The Question of Conscientious Objection to Military Service," prepared by two experts from the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Asbjorn Eide and Chama Mubanga-Chipoya.

The Eide/Mubanga-Chipoya Report surveys provisions for conscientious objection around the world and provides a set of recommendations. The recommendations include the recognition of conscientious objection as a human right, the provision of meaningful alternative service, and the establishment of international standards for granting asylum to conscientious objectors.

Elements of the report that are adopted by the Commission on Human Rights would receive more attention before the larger UN Economic and Social Council and General Assembly later in 1985.

"The Quaker office in Geneva expects that a positive vote is unlikely on the whole report," said Kate Grosser of the Quaker United Nations Office in New York City. She said that their strategy was to concentrate on passage of certain parts of the report: mainly, to work toward having "conscientious objection recognized as a human right, the right of asylum, and the implementation of positive alternative service."

The Quaker UN Office in Geneva has appealed to citizens of states which are members of the Commission on Human Rights to write to their own "ministers of foreign affairs" to urge a positive vote on conscientious objection. The United States is a voting member of the Commission this year.

An official of the U.S. State Department's Office of Human Rights Affairs said in a phone interview on January 11 that in the United States conscientious objection has not been considered to be a right, but "a privilege granted by law."

In a report on the results of last year's effort to pass a procedural resolution regarding conscientious objection, Judith Baker indicated that "Ireland, Great Britain, and the United States shifted positively from their initial positions." She attributed the shift to lobbying, "both nationally and at the Commission."

Letters asking what position the United States plans to take on conscientious objection and urging a positive vote at the Commission on Human Rights may be sent to *Office of Human Rights IO/HR, Department of State, Washington, DC 20520.*

—NISBCO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mike Constable, Union Art Service/LNS

Permitting the government to seize the legal fees, said the judge, "would undermine the very principles underlying the adversary system."

Sanctuary workers convicted: Sanctuary activists Jack Elder and Stacey Merkt were convicted recently of conspiracy to help illegal aliens enter the US. They say they will appeal.

The Welfare Fathers: According to a report by Public Citizen, government aid to business far exceeds aid to the poor. Public Citizen estimates that the government provides some $107 billion in corporate welfare — more than Medicare, Medicaid, veterans' medical programs and child nutrition programs combined. The report applauds the Reagan administration for some of the cuts it proposes to make in the business welfare programs.

CIA takes issue with military on Soviet arms growth: The CIA estimates that Soviet defense expenditures have been growing at a 2% annual rate since 1974, far below that of the US during the same period and slower than that claimed by the military.

Ribbon Project: A group of activists are working on panels 18"x36" which will be joined together and then, according to their plans, wrapped around the Pentagon on August 4. The Denver group reports that the ribbon is now several miles long and growing.

Anti-abortion bills: USA Today reports that 72 bills have been introduced in 37 states placing restrictions on abortions. Last year eight anti-abortion laws were passed out of 96 bills introduced. Anti-abortion activists are looking for success in Texas, Utah, Arkansas and Michigan this year.

Name change: The National Black Women's Political Caucus has decided to change its name to the Political Congress of Black Women. The group is headed by Shirley Chisholm.

More of what you read JUMP CUT for

JUMP CUT 29

LATIN AMERICAN FILM

Film and Video Making in Revolutionary El Salvador + Havana Film Festival + Mexican Cinema + Theory by Cuban director Tomas Gutierrez Alea + More

GERMAN WOMEN'S CINEMA

Interviews with German Women Filmmakers + Reviews of THE POWER OF MEN IS THE PATIENCE OF WOMEN + THE GERMAN SISTERS + THE ALL AROUND REDUCED PERSONALITY: REDUPERS + More

WOMEN AND REPRESENTATION

Soap Operas and Harlequin Romances + Feminist Criticism of Feminist Criticism Black Women Filmmakers + Audience Response to PERSONAL BEST + More

Subs: $6/4 issues US; $8/4 issues Canada & Abroad

JUMP CUT, PO Box 865
Berkeley CA 94701

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Charter for prostitutes: Prostitutes from 13 different countries convened in Amsterdam last month to adopt a charter calling for their right to work, to improved conditions and to assured health care. Approximately 150 women wearing carnival masks and floppy hats to disguise their identities, attended the gathering, convened by Margot Saint James, founder of the American prostitutes' group Coyote.

According to Priscilla Alexander of Coyote, the European charter emphasizes the right to immigrate and cross borders. Alexander said that some laws "attempt to keep pimps from taking women across borders, but (they) stop women from having the right to travel.

Supreme Court increases federal authority: The Supreme Court in February, in a ruling making 12 million state and local government employees subject to federal wage and hour standards, substantially increased the power of Washington over state and local governments, according to a number of observers. Governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona said the decision could mean the federal government could pre-empt state power in areas such as education, crime control and consumer protection. Said Babbitt: "I always viewed the Supreme Court in the role of referee, standing on the field in a striped shirt, mediating the contest between state and federal governments. What this decision does is have the referee leaving the field and heading for the shower."

Where are they now? USA Today gives this run down on the Chicago Seven defendants — acquitted of conspiracy to incite riot at the 1968 Democratic convention:

Rennie Davis is vice president of a Denver management consulting firm.

David Dellinger remains active as an activist, teacher and writer.

John Froines teaches toxicology at UCLA.

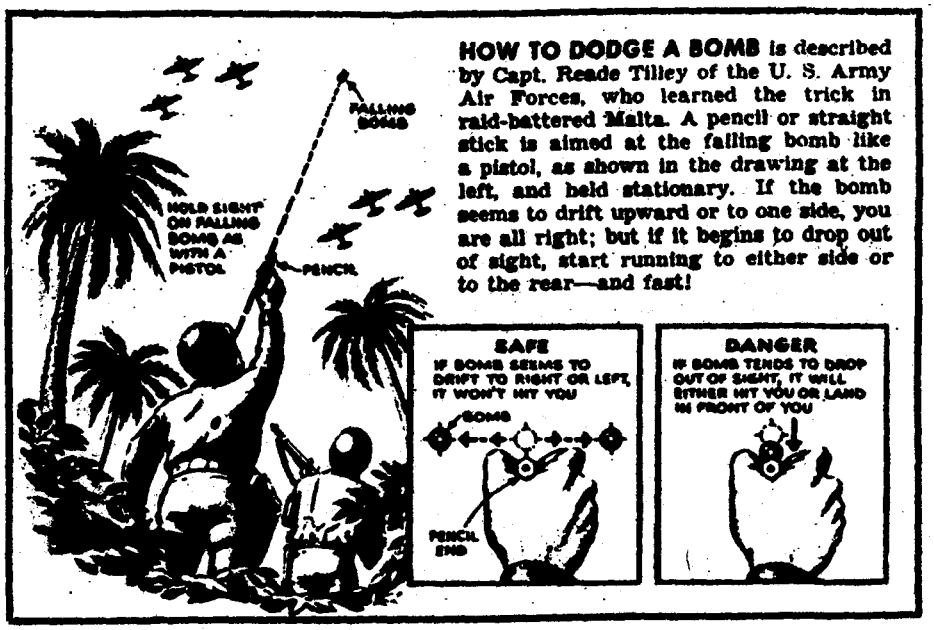
Tom Hayden is in the California assembly.

Abbie Hoffman is a writer and environmental activist.

Jerry Rubin is owner-operator of a "networking salon" for New York professionals.

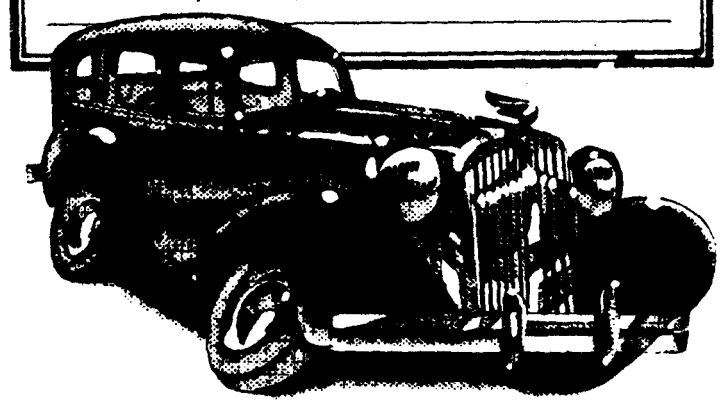
Bobby Seale published a barbecue cookbook and is a construction technique teacher for low-income youths in Philadelphia.

Lee Weiner does direct mail work for non-profit and political groups.


HOW TO DODGE A BOMB is described by Capt. Reade Tilley of the U. S. Army Air Forces, who learned the trick in raid-battered Malta. A pencil or straight stick is aimed at the falling bomb like a pistol, as shown in the drawing at the left, and held stationary. If the bomb seems to drift upward or to one side, you are all right; but if it begins to drop out of sight, start running to either side or to the rear—and fast!
FALLING BOMB
HOLD SIGHT ON FALLING BOMB AS WITH A PISTOL
PENCIL
SAFE
IF BOMB SEEMS TO DRIFT TO RIGHT OR LEFT, IT WON'T HIT YOU
BOMB
PENCIL END
DANGER
IF BOMB TENDS TO DROP OUT OF SIGHT, IT WILL EITHER HIT YOU OR LAND IN FRONT OF YOU

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

·THE CLASSIFIEDS·



Classified ads are ten cents a word. Count your own words and send payment with ad to the Progressive Review, 1739 Conn Ave NW DC 20009.

HOW TO EARN MONEY AS A CONSULTANT. Special systems recently adopted by major consultancies and CIA. Send SASE to Business Psychology Int'l, GPO 235-59, Boston, Mass. 02159.

STRATEGY FOR ACTIVISTS. Send $4.95 (includes handling) for **Plotting Directions** to RECON, PO Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134

NEED REASONABLE ACCOMMODATIONS, THE CHEAPER THE BETTER for Progressive Review intern from England coming here for several months next fall. Call 232-5544 if interested.

FLY FREE IN THE US AND ABROAD ANYTIME! Scheduled and non-scheduled flights!! Plus other travel discounts and freebies your travel agent will rather not talk about including easy ways to make $100,000 yearly while you travel or vacation free worldwide. Doesn't depend on luck. Depends on what you know. 56 page insider's booklet $3 (Money back guarantee), Fortunate Travel, Box 6055E, Washington DC 20005 A (ap5)

PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY now available! Good for networking, publicity, subscription details on 400 periodicals about peace, health, environment, culture, international ... entire left. $4 from Box E-120574, Nashville 37212. #251

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Citibank to end South African Loans: Citibank plans to end all its loans to the South African government, following moves by the NYC government to stop doing business with banks and firms in the South African trade. . . . Meanwhile, the United Church of Christ reports that it has successfully concluded nine years of negotiations with Manufacturers Hanover Trust to convince the bank to stop making loans to the South African government.

Feds hand out sermon: In an effort to promote adoptions, the US Dept. of Health and Human Services has distributed a sample religious sermon to about five hundred people and organizations that handle adoptions. Civil liberties and religious groups have called the action a violation of the separation of church and state.

The CIA and gays: US District Judge Barrington Parker has ruled that the CIA acted improperly when it fired and employee who admitted he was a homosexual, and ordered the employee to be reinstated. The CIA had argued that the "circumstances of his homosexuality" posed a security risk, but the judge said the record showed no overriding national concerns were at stake.

Working on the railroad: If Amtrak were shut down it would save, in theory, $684 million in operating costs. The problem with the theory is that labor agreements would cost the government $640 million in layoff benefits the first year, and $2.1 billion over six years.

Campus lobby coming to Washington: College students, faculty and staff from across the country will gather in Washington on April 18 for the 1985 University Lobby to End the Arms Race. The participants will lobby on a variety of peace issues. The event is sponsored by United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War. Info: Eric Celeste, Box 6198, Yale Station, New Haven Conn. 06520 (203-436-1480) or Phil Antweiler, 1346 Conn Ave NW #706, DC 200036 (202-223-6206).

Black Women Oral History: Radcliffe's Schlesinger Library is winding up its black women oral history project and expects by this summer to have the lives of 72 women recorded and preserved. The women are all older and have made substantial contributions to their professions or communities. Info: Ruth Hill, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge MA 02138.

Affirmative Retaliatory Action: The Air Force has now decided that it is all right to put women in nuclear missile silos. Henceforth, the missile crews can consist of two women or two men; but no mixed crews.

A study released by the California Department of Health Services shows miscarriages and birth defects occurred at two to three times the average rate in parts of the state where water contained chemicals used by high-tech firms.

The study stops short of making a direct connection between the birth problems and the chemical contamination. That, according to Health official Raymond Neutra, is because of the difficulty of gathering accurate data on people's exposure to the chemicals. However, state health officials also said the study ruled out such other potential causes of birth problems as the mothers' medical conditions, jobs, and behavior. They also said they were not disregarding the possibility that the chemicals directly caused the birth problems and said they planned to investigate that idea further.

The study took place in the neighborhood of Los Paseos in California's "Silicon Valley." Water in that neighborhood has been found to contain toxic solvents, which leaked from a semiconductor plant. Women in the neighborhood mounted a call for investigation into the chemical leaks and the possible health effects, and more than 400 neighborhood

AB DICK 321 TABLE TOP OFFSET PRESS - excellent condition. $400. Call Richard, days, 202-547-2470.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

residents have filed suit alleging that the chemicals caused the birth problems.

You hear a lot of talk about Americans returning to religion, but you wouldn't know it from church attendance figures. The Gallup Poll reports about 40 percent of U.S. adults attended church or synagogue services in a typical week last year. That figure has varied only a percent or two over the last 12 years, and it's a lot lower than the all-time peak of 49 percent back in 1958. Catholics still have the best record with 51 percent going to church in a typical week, but that's a big drop from the 74 percent figure they recorded in 1958.

A major study by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health on the effects of intensive use of video display terminals on pregnant women, is causing controversy before it even begins.

The dispute centers on the scope of the study, which is expected to start this spring. The question: should the study look only at the reproductive problems of VDT users, or should it also encompass radiation, stress, and ergonomics? NIOSH wants to keep the study limited, but workers' groups say more topics should be examined. Says Diana Roose, research director of Nine To Five, the organization of working women, says that "it will only be a partial answer to the question if they do a very limited risk study."

Doctor Robert Arndt of the University of Wisconsin, a member of the NIOSH peer review panel, wonders whether the study might be overloaded with variables if too much is examined. However, he says, the study must be powerful enough to satisfy unions and other critics. Says Arndt, "If you can't satisfy these people on that issue [of radiation], then you might as well not do the study, because the outcome is going to be worthless."

Houston, Texas has defeated by a four to one majority a referendum that would have made illegal any discrimination on the basis of sexual preference.

The Houston Chamber of Commerce claimed, along with doctors' and lawyers' organizations, a number of big-time bankers, and some Fortune 500 companies, that the proposed gay rights law would have been bad for business. The head of an anti-referendum committee formed by the Chamber of Commerce claimed the measure "could well be detrimental to the economic future of Houston."

Nearly 50 U.S. cities have adopted anti-gay and anti-lesbian discrimination measures in some form.

Contrary to some campus sports boosters' claim that heavy investment in athletics helps the entire college, winning athletic teams do not help universities bring in more money from alumni or businesses, a researcher has concluded after combining 12 studies of the issue.

University of Nevada at Las Vegas professor James Frey says all the studies indicate successful athletic teams never increase—and often reduce—contributions to an institution.

Roadsigns

TAXES: A Brookings Institution study by Joseph A Pechman has found that low income Americans are paying a larger share of their taxes than they were in 1966 while the reverse is true for high income families. There are two main reasons for this: Corporate and property taxes are taking a smaller percentage of the total tax burden now an payroll taxes are up. Pechman points out that these trends predate the Reagan administration and have been consistent for 20 years.

WOMEN IN PRISON: There has been a 780% increase in female prison inmates since 1984.

VOTING: Voter turnout went up last November for the first time in two decades. The turnout was up 1% from 1980. Black turnout was up 6, hispanic up 3% and women up 2%.

Small business: According to the Small Business Administration, large corporations had a net loss of 1.7 million jobs between 1980 and 1982, while small businesses added 2.6 million jobs.

The deficit: Investors Notebook reports that the federal deficit was 2.6% of GNP in 1981. In 1983 it was 6.9% and interest on the federal debt was 3.5% of GNP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Women in politics tend to start with a three to four point lead over men, but then tend to fall behind, largely because women over 65 don't support them.

Those were some of the findings of a study conducted by Cooper Secrest Associates for the National Women's Political Caucus. The Study surveyed more than 1700 voters in five congressional districts—in Utah, Kansas, New Hampshire, Missouri and Florida—where a man ran against a woman. The only woman to win was Kansas state senator Jan Meyers, who ran against an anti-abortion candidate.

The Study contradicted the theory of the gender gap, particularly in the findings about women over 65, who tended to support male candidates by a two to one ratio. Voters in general still thought men could handle a crisis better by a 42 to 32 ratio, and thought men could handle the emotional demands of public life by 40 to 27 percent. Nevertheless, women start out with an edge, says pollster David Cooper, because people view them as more colorful and dynamic.

Women candidates—Democrats and Republicans—are viewed most favorably by four "expanding" groups of voters: working women, professionals, young voters and unmarried voters. Since these groups continue to grow, says Cooper, "We can say the fundamental coalition of support for women candidates...is almost assuredly expanding."

What's the secret of Japan's economic success? They exploit their women. *Business Week* magazine says the Japanese keep production costs down by underpaying female workers. Most women end up doing the dirty work, performing menial tasks for low wages and little chance of promotion. And the situation is getting worse, not better. Seven years ago, Japanese women made 56 percent of what men made. Today, they make only 52 percent. The country has no equal-pay law, and many businessmen vow to disobey any law that does pass. Says one Tokyo economist: "In Europe and the U.S. they exploit immigrants. In Japan, we use women."

The Catholic Church's prohibition on birth control is losing its appeal. A study of sexually active single women in their 20s shows Catholics are just as likely as Protestants to use contraceptives. But the big surprise is that sexually active Catholic women who attend Mass regularly are the *most* likely to ignore Church teachings on the subject. Among those who receive communion at least once a week, 98 percent use contraceptives.

In the aftermath of the November elections, World Peace Tax Fund supporters were reduced in the House of Representatives from 50 to 45, two of whom crossed over successfully to the Senate: Paul Simon, D-IL and Tom Harkin, D-IA. They were joined there by John Kerry, D-MA, Albert Gore, D-IN and John Rockefeller, D-WV, all felt to be likely WPTF supporters. Particularly heartening was the nip and tuck race won by prime House WPTF sponsor Paul Simon, over Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Sen. Charles Percy, R-IL. As additional proof that WPTF sponsorship is no liability at the polls, Senator Percy attempted to make former Rep. Simon's championship of conscience a campaign issue. That apparently did not play well in Peoria.-CMTC

Section 6702 of the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 has been used by the IRS to assess $500 penalties on many conscientious military tax objectors and others who have written words of protest, taken "war tax" credits, deductions or asked for refunds on their 1040 forms. The IRS has not issued definitions or regulations to clarify the criteria on which they assess the "frivolous" penalty. The IRS has not been clear or consistent in assessing and/or collecting this penalty.

All lower court "frivolous" cases but one have been decided in favor of the IRS. Two of the three appeals court cases have upheld lower court decisions. One appeal case is still pending.

A number of congressional representatives have stated that the "frivolous" penalty was not intended by Congress to be used against citizens of conscience, but there is no bill in either the House or the Senate which would correct and clarify Section 6702 of TEFRA.

Some conscientious military tax objectors have been intimidated and harrassed by the IRS' use of the "frivolous" penalty. Individuals and organizations concerned with the issue of paying taxes toward peace have been seeking ways to respond effectively to the "frivolous" penalty. —CMTC

Everything that Republicans of old, whether a Robert Taft or a Dwight D. Eisenhower, warned against has been enshrined by the statists of the New Right. There is no more authoritarian centralization of power possible in a free nation that that vested in a large permanent military establishment; there is no more bureaucratic form of organization.
— Hodding Carter

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INTERVIEWS WITH TWO FORMER CIA OFFICIALS

John Stockwell

Interviewed by Neil Hoffman

John Stockwell belongs to that select company of former Central Intelligence Agency operatives—Philip Agee is the best known—who have gone public with revelations about CIA murders and dirty tricks around the world. Stockwell, a striking, well-built man in his early 40s, might not wear the trenchcoat and fedora of the classic film spy, but he does look like someone who would be at home in difficult and dangerous situations.

Born and raised in Africa, he spent 19 years as a Marine and 12 years in the CIA. On orders from his superiors, he fabricated intelligence reports in Vietnam and in Angola, where he acted as station chief for the agency's covert operations. In 1978, after quitting the agency, he published his book, *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*, a lucid and personal account of his role in the CIA, and more particularly, in Angola.

Today, he spends his time largely as a writer and powerful lecturer on the abuses of his onetime employer. The following interview took place en route from Mexico City to Managua, Nicaragua. In light of the CIA's current involvement in Nicaragua, including the creation and funding of an army of *contras*—anti-government guerrillas—Stockwell's insight into the agency's covert operations and the psychology of being an agent acquire an immediate relevance:

What led you to leave the CIA?

Stockwell: I went into the CIA thinking I was doing the best thing I could with my life, the contradiction being that I was a humanist at heart. But, of course, their propaganda line is that you're serving humanity by struggling to keep the world free from communism. It just took a lot of years making my way up the chain of command until I became convinced just the opposite was true.

I saw it in Africa, but in Africa I was working out of embassies. I did not have Phil Agee's experience from Latin America where there was more bombing and torture and terrorism, and issues were clearer. The inhumanity was clearer. Then I saw it in Vietnam, where there was no doubt.

At that point I was totally disillusioned. I felt like my soul had been fucked. Literally everything I had been taught to believe in, I realized was untrue about my government.

Then, they offered me a position on the National Security Council, in a subcommittee managing from a global point of view the covert action targeting in Angola. I accepted the job pure and simple because it would give me a chance to see from the inside what was at the root of all this horror. Would it make sense if you were really inside? So I took the job just like making a deal with the devil, and worked hard so I would have access to every bloody piece of paper, conversation, or whatever that had anything to do with my program.

I found it even more cynical than you would ever dream. Meeting after meeting, 170 meetings, discussing what lies to tell the American people, what lies to tell Congress, what lies to tell the president, even what lies to tell each other, and never, ever any conception of telling the truth to the people or the Congress. There wasn't even a twitch of honesty in the thing. I mean, nobody walked in joking one day and said, "Hey, why don't we tell the truth this once, just for fun."

How would you describe the extent of the CIA's reach around the world?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These case officers are working tirelessly, long hours, highly motivated. There's a hell of a lot of killing.

I count—well, all people who were closely involved count—over a million people that have died in the first echelon of violence in CIA-agitated covert operations, people that would not have died if the CIA had not been there doing its thing. Then you have the Vietnam War, which tracks directly from a prolonged CIA covert action; Cambodia was thoroughly destabilized by the CIA. Right there, between those two, you have three to five million people dead.

Now, that's speaking only in terms of dead people. You know, "destabilization," which the CIA has done in dozens and dozens and dozens of countries, is not fun, it's not nice-guy stuff. It means by definition that you upset the economic and social balance of the country so it doesn't work, so the people can't make a living, so they don't dare send their children to school, so the hospitals are full of wounded people instead of sick, and money is spent on arms instead of hospitals and schools and social projects. So, the numbers of people who have suffered from CIA destabilization, had their lives deeply affected in a negative way, are literally in the tens of millions of people. All of this is allegedly in defense of the United States' national security.

The national security aspect is obviously just a big lie to justify what these CIA operatives want to do in their war against the world. It's fun, it's enchanting, it's deeply exciting to be a spy operative and have an unlimited budget and have no moral or legal constraints. You can do anything you want to do around the world—killing, experimenting on people with drugs, inciting wars, overthrowing governments, shafting enemies, blackmail, bribery, poisoning crops.

And it's not a felony, because overseas, if you're caught, you have no fear of ever going to jail. Diplomatic immunity protects you and you just fly back home. And in the States, it's national security. So even if you're caught out as they were, with experimenting on American citizens with LSD, mindblowing drugs, it's not a felony because it's in the highest interests of the country. This is, for a certain type of people, irresistible.

It's very significant to understand that CIA case officers tend to feel or least act very self-righteous about what they do. Part of the reason they do that is by believing or pretending to believe their own party lines—that communists are bad, that by what they're doing in Nicaragua today, they're stopping the Cubans and the Russians from taking over the world. And you know, Cubans and Russians are not God, God forbid. But the people that are dying are Nicaraguan people, the women and children and Miskito Indians.

What makes this work, in part, is that you operate from an embassy context—big, beautiful villas, servants, embassy office, embassy country team meetings, lunches and dinners at ambassadors' houses, and gorgeous gardens with flowers and swimming pools. You work with *contra* leaders. You're giving them money, so they have houses and what not.

You're working with the police in El Salvador, for example. Well, the world tends to see these things through the press—the police, the death squads in El Salvador, as horrible things, which they are. On a one-to-one basis, however, you don't see the horror. You just see educated people, who are educated at Fort Bragg in the States, who drive around in Mercedes and live very well, whose sons go to UCLA with your own sons. All very glamorous, very friendly, very sociable, very nice, nice-guy stuff—an overlapping community of the elite far away from and above the killing.

The way the case officers will protect their own conscience from the killing is: You deliver a load of arms, say bombs, say white phosphorous grenades, to a *contra* commander. Now, anyone would know that those are going to be used to blow up and burn civilians. But, what you do is, as you deliver them, you give him a lecture and warn him that they're only to be used against the Sandinista forces.

O.K. You go back to into the office and you write a memo saying, "...And I told him under the strictest possible terms that they should under no circumstances be used against civilians." And then, when the next week civilians are killed with some of these grenades thrown into a schoolhouse or something, well then, you may decide not to believe it, and say it's exaggerated. Or, you may put some propaganda out and say that they were really killed by the Sandinistas, and then choose to believe that. Or, you might kick a door and yell and storm around the office for five minutes saying, "Goddammit, I've told those bastards, it's not my fault my president tells me to do this. I'm a faithful, patriotic American citizen. I do my duty, but I made my position crystal clear in this."

Now this sounds farfetched, but it actually works. And they use these games, self-supporting, supporting each other. The attacks, the horror of what they're doing, the way it's written and presented in the press—they just don't read those stories, or they'll read them and slam them down and say, "Ah, that's communist bullshit. I know that Captain So-and-So is a nice man. My son's going to UCLA with his son." Just absolutely shed it off, so it doesn't sink in.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It does sink in with some. There are plenty who are more intelligent and perceptive and get out with a great sense of disillusionment. Some of them, 18 or so, have gotten out and gone public. But, by and large, most of them are able to assuage their consciences.

Even the disillusioned "spook" is a syndrome in our society. Hollywood has a way that you play that, as in the movies. At the end of the movie you put on your trenchcoat and walk off into the fog and the cynicism is unchanged, and you take your own private life to go somewhere and nurse your wounds.

But you don't become an activist?

No, that isn't the Hollywood line. It doesn't recommend that solution. *The Three Days of the Condor* did have Robert Redford walking into the *New York Times* with his story. That's the way the movie ended, but of course, by and large if you walk into the *New York Times* with a story like that, they'll throw you out. This is not to discredit them, for they introduced my own book. But see, that wasn't just me going to them with a story. I had succeeded in writing and publishing a book. I had succeeded in creating a situation that interested Mike Wallace and *60 Minutes*, so the book was a big event. But just the simple truth, the unending and continuing horror of what the CIA is doing, they don't publish it.

What information do you have about [current] CIA activity in Central America?

Well, in a way, I don't have any. I mean, I'm the last person in the world who has inside information. On the other hand, I should be one of the world's most astute people at reading between the lines and figuring out what's going on, because I was a colonel in the CIA running these things at one time.

My book is a blueprint for what's been happening in Nicaragua. They're working the thing from Washington, training camps in Florida, working with exiles, counterrevolutionaries (apparently with the *contras*, mostly), flowing the arms mostly through Honduras, flowing political action and terrorism through Costa Rica, and also hiring mercenaries from Latin America—Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina—to go in and do the killing for them.

Meanwhile, they've got a propaganda machine pumping out stories and trying to get them into the world press. The most successful one was where they got it into the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* about the massacre of some Miskito Indians by the Sandinistas. That massacre never occurred. The press picked it up and published it, but when they tried to go in and document it, both the Moravian Church and Amnesty International said, "No, it never happened."

The photographs turned out to be false?

Photographs. We had photographs in the Angolan thing of Cuban rapists: Cuban rapists being caught, Cuban rapists being tried, Cuban rapists being executed. I mean, that's simple photography to document stuff like that and put it out to the world. There were no Cuban rapists. It was all made up. If there was a massacre of Miskito Indian bodies, they probably had been killed by the *contras*. But there was no massacre.

Copyright 1985 by the Cooperative News Service

Harry Rositzke

Interviewed by Florence Graves

Harry Rositzke knows that if he hadn't spent 25 years as an officer in the CIA, he might now be branded a "pinko" or a product of "Soviet disinformation." But with impeccable credentials as the first CIA officer to run espionage operations against the Soviet Union, Rositzke speaks his mind without fear. In 1970 Rositzke retired to his farm in Middleburg, Va. to read, to think and to write. His most recent book is Managing Moscow: Guns or Goods?

"After 25 years of 'fighting the Russians' in the CIA, and 10 years on a Virginia hilltop watching detente slide into confrontation," Rositzke writes, "it is my conviction that the long-term Soviet threat to the American interest is not military but political and economic."

As Rositzke sees it, the U.S. mistakenly continues "to stick to the outworn formula of buying our security and our interests abroad with guns—and more guns. We respond manfully to the Soviet military threat with more and better missiles, with a rapid deployment force, with Pershing missiles to Western Europe....And yet, with all our muscle, we are unable to diminish the threat of Soviet power. We have been reduced.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from Afghanistan on, to punishing the Russians for their actions. And punishment, we have learned, does not deter."

His solution: a forward American economic strategy. It's time for the U.S. to use its economic clout to stop the Russian advance in the developing world. By fully using our technology, our productive capacity, our grain and the American dollar to advance our security and prosperity. Rositzke believes we would be using the one weapon in which we are far superior to the Soviet Union.

[redacted]

CC: *You have a degree from Harvard in German linguistics and you taught at Harvard, the University of Omaha and the University of Rochester. So how did an academic like you get involved in intelligence operations?*

ROSITZKE: I got started during World War II. I was handling all the agent reports from Western Europe, France and the lowlands before D-Day and that got me immediately into the business of seeing what secret agents could contribute. Some of these people contributed greatly in terms of reporting the movement of German divisions to the beachheads before and after the invasion. I think probably the real reason I stayed on [after the war and joined the CIA] was because I became fascinated by the Russians.

CC: *So you've been with the CIA since it was started in 1947?*

ROSITZKE: Yes, I was the first chief of the Soviet Operations Division. Our main job in 1948 was to find out what was going on inside of Russia because everyone from the president on down was concerned about a Soviet military move from Eastern to Western Europe. Because the Soviet Union is totally cut off from the world (our embassy people couldn't even walk outside the embassy until 1953 when Stalin died), there was only one way to find out what was going on and that was to [parachute in] agents who were trained and equipped with radio sets to report back.

CC: *But in the later years following the war, didn't you also try to place agents within the Soviet government?*

ROSITZKE: That's probably one of the most difficult operating jobs in the world. I don't think there's any question [about it], there's no great mole in Moscow.

CC: *By "mole," you mean...*

ROSITZKE: Upper level member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Politburo—any more than there is a Soviet mole in the White House or in the National Security Council.

CC: *How many CIA agents do we have in the Soviet Union?*

ROSITZKE: That's a highly classified point. Are you working for the KGB?

CC: *So how does the U.S. government get most of its information about the Soviet Union?*

ROSITZKE: The main thing that kept Washington informed between 1956 and 1960 was the U2 flights. Since then, the overhead satellite photography and electronic surveillance provide [information about] absolutely everything visible or hearable. And as you know, that's pretty crucial because that's the only way you can verify arms agreements in a second. Electronic observers can pick up a Soviet pilot talking to his base. They can pick up all long distance calls, any of the radio transmissions. They can pick up anything. They aren't, however, much good [at detecting] military research handled under a roof.

CC: *You mean we don't have at least half the Soviet Union bugged?*

ROSITZKE: The KGB [domestic operation is] 200 times as large—oh, more than that—as the FBI. And it has very good control of the law and behavior of its citizens. It's a security service that practically guarantees you aren't going to have a [U.S.] agent [there]. The United States is a very easy area to operate in because we are a different kind of society. The Russians have over 300 KGB guys in New York who can operate with total freedom. The FBI tries to follow as many of them as possible. But if you want to follow a man for 24 hours, it takes eight people.

CC: *Obviously, as a former CIA officer, you have learned a lot about the Soviet Union and its people. What do you think is our biggest misunderstanding about the Soviet people?*

ROSITZKE: They are people; they are married; they have children. A lot of them live in villages because, after all, almost everyone in the Soviet Union is either a peasant, the son of a peasant or the grandson of a peasant.

I [also] think—and this is strictly my personal impression—that Americans have an idea that everyone in the Soviet Union is a communist, which of course they are not. The Communist Party is a fairly elite organization, and you damn well better be good before they let you into it. Second, [Americans seem to believe] that Soviets are slaves who go around in perpetual fear, which is non-

---

Florence Graves is editor of Common Cause Magazine from which this inteview is reprinted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sense. [Americans seem to believe] that the average Russian wants "freedom," when the average Russian has never had freedom and doesn't know what it really means and very often is suspicious of it. Because if you are bred into a society of rules and regulations and suddenly wake up one morning and you can do anything you want to, that's a threat.

CC: *But are they also part of what President Reagan has called an "evil empire?"*

ROSITZKE: Well, even Reagan never said that.

CC: *He referred to the government as evil.*

ROSITZKE: So are we talking about a couple of thousand people in Moscow or are we talking about 262 million people living in a vast territory of different languages? They are two different things. [Yet even] the [government] bureaucrats, high bureaucrats, are trained in a fairly narrow way. Most know very little about the outside world but are terribly concerned about the security of their country, about the efficiency of their country. This idea of considering them all minor Satans, as though they were in the clutch of the devil, is primarily the product of the American imagination. Not [all] Americans, but two people. John Foster Dulles was the first one to promote this whole thing of what I call a moral and religious crusade. And President Reagan came in and, in somewhat simpler language, did the same thing.

CC: *Isn't American policy based on the premise that the Soviet Union wants to bury us and if given a chance, they will put their troops on U.S. soil and make us communists?*

ROSITZKE: It's such a ludicrous, stupid affair. In 35 years they have never sent their troops outside their border areas.

CC: *What about Afghanistan?*

ROSITZKE: I said, "outside their border areas." Afghanistan is along their border. In all my years in government—this is something so simple, it really has to be made clear—in all my years in government and since, I have never seen an intelligence estimate that shows how it would be profitable to Soviet interests to invade Western Europe or to attack the United States. There is no rationale for it. They are mainly concerned with becoming stronger to withstand the American threat which is obviously greater than the Soviet threat is to us. For 35 years we have had bases all around the Soviet Union. We encircled the Soviet Union because we were afraid they were going to expand their power by military means.

No one has ever suggested that the Russians somehow or other will try to take over the U.S. They would need five million troops—they don't even have that many. Do they have a couple of million English speakers to take the place of the FBI? It's all so ridiculous.

CC: *Then why are we so afraid of them?*

ROSITZKE: Because we have a leader who has a real deep emotional fear and hatred of the Russians, of communism. It's that little thing in the American stomach that says, "this is the devil."

Reagan's honest; he really believes all this. But then all you have to do is look at [the others]—Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, certainly Nixon. Although Nixon was an anti-communist in the gut, he realized it wouldn't make any sense to just keep on spouting anti-communist rhetoric when the Soviets were getting stronger. [He knew] we really had to get together to reduce the threat on both sides.

CC: *So if you were president of the United States, what would you be doing? Would you be building the MX missile?*

ROSITZKE: I wouldn't build the MX missile, and I certainly wouldn't get into the star wars business. The rationale for that is really rather childish. I would see to it that our armed forces were ready to take care of [hot spots such as the Persian Gulf area...while negotiating with the Soviets to reduce our strategic missiles]. In other words, I think we are spending half a trillion dollars to no good end. That to me is the tragedy of my generation. I think we are off on one of the most wasteful episodes in American society, all because of a feeling in the gut. We are suckers for a paranoid approach to the Russians. I'm not saying they are not a threat in the long run. I happen to think they are mainly a political and economic threat.

CC: *You say in your book that we have been fighting the Russians on their strongest front—military power—and that we have failed to fight them on their weakest front—economic power. Are you saying they outsmarted us? Was this their plan all along?*

ROSITZKE: No! We "dumbed" ourselves! No, they are not very smart. They are going about their business in a simple way. Every year they are producing more goods; they are getting a more secure society and military; and they have been prospering. [At the same time] we have been sacrificing a great deal of our wealth, brains and so forth on our own

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

battlefield. I'm a strong believer in deterrence [each side having enough weapons to deter the other from attacking], but I think that's enough. Next, [you reduce weapons on both sides] and then get to work on the work of the world.

CC: *What is the Soviets' objective if it isn't to take over the world?*

ROSITZKE: In the long run if the Russians can increase their power and influence—this is through diplomacy and everything else—and gain further anchors and points of support in Africa and Southeast Asia, Indonesia and South America, they can thereby curtail more and more of the power of the United States and in the long run decrease its capability of being a threat to the Soviet Union. In other words, it's not much *boom boom* because they know as well as we that if there is much *boom boom*, we're both through—so let's not be nonsensical about it.

You know, they have worked awfully hard for 60 to 70 years to build a society. It's not terribly good yet, but they certainly aren't going to take a gamble on dropping some missiles across the Arctic or taking their tanks into Western Europe when this could lead to the destruction of their society. That's what I meant when I said they are human. They are very pragmatic people.

CC: *If building more bombs and missiles isn't the answer, what is? What should we be doing?*

ROSITZKE: We should reduce the alliance between Moscow's foreign allies by economic and political means. And that has plenty of sentiment on Capitol Hill, too. We could get Cuba and Castro "on our side" with a year of decent diplomacy and, of course, trading back and forth. We could probably even get Cuban troops out of Africa a hell of a lot more efficiently than by saying we won't talk to you until you get your troops out of Africa.

When it comes to the [East] European bloc, there isn't any question they will always remain under the military superiority of the Soviet Union just as Nicaragua is. But we can assist those peoples' degree of prosperity, which by definition gives them a certain degree of independence from Moscow's dictates. Hungary is the best example [of this kind of policy].

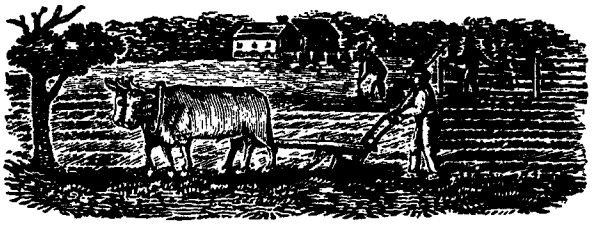
We know that we cannot maintain our [own] prosperity without selling a great many goods abroad. We need a really forward looking policy; we need to start looking at crucial possible markets. I happen to consider Indonesia a rather crucial part of Asia. Brazil is really the crux country in Latin America. Angola, Nigeria [are also important]. We need to start taking positive, forward steps toward developing friendly and economic relations with them...so that we have an increasingly friendly environment for U.S. interests on every continent. That's the future. We want to have the world profit us? Good, let's do something about it. ●

"I now see that the major shift in human evolution is from behaving like an animal struggling to survive to behaving like an animal choosing to evolve. In fact, in order to survive, man *has* to evolve. And to evolve, we need a new kind of thinking and a new kind of behavior, a new ethic and a new morality. It will be that of the evolution of everyone rather than the survival of the fittest."

If we look at evolution as an error-making and an error-correcting process, if we are *ever* so much slightly better at error-correcting than at error-making, we'll make it. It is, after all, only by a series of evolutionary *approximations* that we have our remarkable eyes, out incredible hearing mechanism, our unbelievable mind.

—Jonas Salk, quoted in Parade magazine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Way It Was

Historian Barbara Kraft sends us some quotes from the Populist era during a farm crisis with some interesting parallels to current events:

I say it now, it is the duty of government to protect the weak, because the strong are able to protect themselves. . . . All we want is a little relief, a little remedy — **Governor of Kansas.**

Every agent, pedler and Every profession of men is Fleecing the Farmers and by the thime the World Gets their Liveing out of the Farmer as we have to Feed the World the Farm has nothing Left, but a Bear Hard Liveing — **Texas farmer.**

We are cursed, many of us financially, beyond redemption, not by the hot winds so much as by the swindling games o the bankers and money loaners, who have taken the money and now are after the property, leaving the farmer moneyless and homeless. — **Nebraskan farmer.**

There are three great crops raised in Nebraska. One is a crop of corn, one a crop of freight rates and one a crop of interest. One is produced by farmers who by sweat and toil farm the land. The other two produced by men who sit in their offices and behind their bank counters and farm the farmers. — **Editor of a farm journal.**

(Farmers should) raise less corn and more Hell! — **Mary Ellen Lease**

Our laws are the output of a system which clothes rascals in robes and honesty in rags. . . . The people are at bay, let the bloodhounds of money that have dogged us thus far beware. — **Mary Ellen Lease**

These men (in Coxey's army) have as much right to go to Washington and demand justice at the hands of congress as bankers, railroad magnates and corporation attorneys have to go and lobby for measures by which to plunder the public — **Editor of the Topeka Advocate, 1894.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REAGAN FILE

An 84 year old pensioner used up his life savings of $4200 in contributions to 27 conservative groups that wrote him with fund appeals. The man, Gerald Colf of Los Angeles, ended up rummaging through trash cans for food. His granddaughter, on hearing of this, began efforts to get the money back. Ronald Reagan heard about the incident, too, and called to day that he appreciated the support but that if Mr. Colf got any more mail, "he should throw it in the trash."

The US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has announced that it will shift its emphasis from broad complaints against large companies and entire industries to cases involving specific people. Clarence Thomas, who chairs the commission said that the change restored the EEOC's original function.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

Do you know any amazing but true stories about the Reagan administration. Share your astonishment. Send them to the Review, 1739 Conn. Ave NW DC 20009.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

Nancy Reagan described her husband as having a "steel trap" mind: "He can remember facts and figures that I have long since forgotten and everyone else has too."

Budget director David Stockman calls the Small Business Administration "a billion-dollar waste, a rathole."

President Reagan has spent twelve percent of the time he has been in office at his ranch in Santa Barbara. He says, "When you get in there the world is gone."

Education director William Bennett says that proposed cuts in education "may require of some students divestiture of certain sorts — stereo, automobile, three-weeks-at-the-beach divestiture. I do not mean to suggest that his will be the case in all circumstances, but it will, like the rain, fall on the just and unjust alike." Current estimates from education officials are that 2.5 million college students will lose their financial aid funding if the president's education budget is approved.

Philip Abrams, Undersecretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development told a Washington Post

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reporter that Hispanics have a "cultural preference" for living in overcrowded housing.

Budget director David Stockman said, "For the life of me, I can't figure out why the taxpayers have the responsibility to go in and refinance bad debt willingly incurred by consenting adults who went out and bought farm land when prices were going up thought they were going to get rich." David Stockman's mother said that her son's comments "don't set too well with me. We've had an abundance of crops, and we're not getting any money at all for our crops. When I looked at our books last week and found out how much money we lost, I was awed." David Stockman later said of the farm crisis, "that is the way a dynamic economy works."

Nearly one fourth of Reagan's judicial appointees are millionaires compared with only 6% of the appointees in the last two years of the Carter administration. 93% of Reagan's district court appointees are white, a record broken recently only by Richard Nixon.

Three union officials who are government employees, but who are on leave without pay, are being prosecuted under the Hatch Act ban on political activity by government workers. This marks the first time the act has been applied in such circumstances. The Reagan administration, on the other hand, took no action to discourage 21 US ambassadors who endorsed Senator Jesse Helms last year. Ambassadors are currently exempt from much of the Hatch Act provisions.

The Washington Post reported that even as the Reagan administration was telling Congress that a coup against Nicargua was not a goal, the CIA was involved in planning just such an effort.

Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige has called for the repeal of major portions of the Clayton Act, which has been a bulwark of governmental anti-trust policy since 1914.

Ronald Reagan, defending his use of the Bible to justify increases in military spending, said that "the Bible contains an answer to just about everything and every problem that confronts us."

Angered by a story by the New York Times' Leslie Gelb, the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs ordered its staff not to talk to the reporter. Gelb, who was formerly director of the bureau, also had his photo removed from the bureau's waiting room with the blank space marked by a sign that the photo had been removed "for cause." The resultant furor caused the orders by bureau director Lieut. Gen. John Chain Jr to be rescinded.

Ronald Reagan described the contras fighting the government in Nicaragua as "our brothers" and "the moral equivalent of our founding fathers."

(Please turn to page 41)

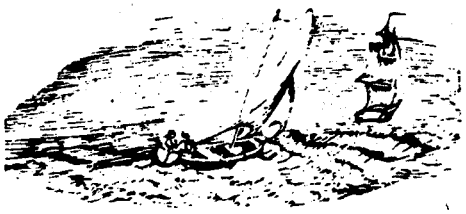
"They are the best in my 33 years of service. They'll fight, and they are as patriotic as you or I. They follow orders, and they die."

Gen. John A. Wickham, Jr.
Army Chief of Staff
commenting on today's soldiers
-Resistance News

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOPICS

Sam Smith



Something new

I'm worried. I don't think even the president's critics are taking the Reagan phenomenon seriously enough. This is not just another bad president we're facing, but an administration that is attempting a massive revolution in economics, social and moral values, foreign policy, class and racial relationships, and civil liberties.

I've been trying to find something to compare it with. The McCarthy era won't do; that was too limited in the scope of its evil. Even Nixon had boundaries on his avarice and perversity. In social welfare matters he was a run-of-the-mill president; the truth is he didn't even hold the clock much, let alone turn it back. And in foreign affairs, he seems a paragon of rationality compared with the present occupant of the White House.

No, this is something, in recent memory, new for America. Other countries have seen it — Germany, for example, in the rise of the Third Reich, but we have been blessed by a form of politics that has let minimal good sense hold the edge over madness in even the worst of times. We pay the price of indolence, inefficiency and procrastination for this protection, but in the long run it may not cost that much because the alternative can destroy so much in so short a time. Our politicians may not lead us well or in the right direction, but our system generally saves us from the ones who would wreck us.

Until now. Now it's not so certain. The gruesome combination of arrogance, stupidity, indifference, braggadocio, authoritarianism, prejudice and myopia that forms the philosophical base of the Reagan idea is unique not because it has not existed before in America — it has, perhaps always, but because this idea is so widely accepted, in no small part because of its transmission by the mightiest and most cynical propaganda machine ever assembled this side of Berlin. We laugh at its error, hyper-simplicity and naivete, but as Goebbels pointed out in 1926: "There is no need for propaganda to be rich in intellectual content."

I do not propose that Reagan and his aides are fascists, but I do suggest that they could well, because of their ignorance, selfishness and egotism, be leading us into a proto-fascist period in which America would accept accelerated depreciation of its democratic values based on the faulty premises so effectively sold by the Reagan crowd.

Stand back a minute and look around you. We face a massive deficit and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what does our president want to do to correct it? Increase still further military spending even at the cost of destroying programs that have been an integral part of American life for decades. Forget about the issue of priorities and think what this says about who holds power in this country. When people starve to feed the military machine, democracy is in deep trouble. In truth, the Reagan administration is attempting to turn the military-industrial combination from a complex to a full autocracy.

Or consider the tone and substance of Reagan officials, especially since the reelection. Is it the sound of people simply attempting to reflect the political will of the country? Of course not; the country disagrees with Reagan on a number of the key issues, but you would never know that listening to Reagan, Weinberger and Shultz. Part of the problem stems from the cultural background of the Reagan elite; they are used to being bosses, they now have the key to executive washroom of the world, America, and damned if anyone else is going to get in. This executive suite mentality helps perhaps to explain why the Reagan people are so abysmal at the ordinary politics of compromise and negotiation. They're best at telling people what to do, only now instead of it being a branch manager it's a senator, an interest group or another once sovereign nation. Listen to them talking about why they won't help this or that segment of the population; their rhetoric is that of a CEO announcing the closing of a plant to improve the profitability of the company. This is the administration whose president finds time to meet Doug Flutie, but not legislators from the crisis-ridden farm states.

It should be noted, in defense of American business, that only a portion of executives fit the stereotype the Reagan administration admires so much. If this were not so, we'd even further behind the Japanese than we are. But this particular species of executive does exist, unfortunately, and one of the great crimes of the Reagan administration is that it has taken these people from the relative safety of Fortune 500 corporations, where even presidents can be so insignificant that their departure barely causes a ripple in the company's stock value, and let them run the country. They have, from all appearances, scoured the bars of country clubs and elite urban men's clubs late at night not to find the best and the brightest but the most certain in their biases, the most unyielding in their pat little philosophies, the most narrow in their vision — and then brought them to Washington to compound their ignorance. These people have always been with us, but since the wake of Warren Gamaliel Harding, even Republicans have been smart enough to leave them at the bar.

Left to their own devices, these types might destroy themselves. Some have But most are saved, even glorified, by a propaganda machine run by technicians who could make Mussolini look like the moral equivalent of our founding fathers. These technicians are not new to the Reagan administration, but never has the inherant danger in their work been made so clear. If the brutal policies of the Reagan administration can be made to appear so attractive, one must ask what else can they sell next?

They have convinced a major portion of the country of the logic of extreme sacrifice to the interests of defense contractors, that black people are taking advantage of whites, that we're in the midst of a crime wave that must be turned back at any cost in either dollars or civil liberties, that the destruction of Nicaragua is essential to our own defense. And as they get away with this sort of nonsense, it opens up new political space to strip-mine. The less the liberals and the left stand up to the onslaught the more encourgement they give.

The media, of course, has in all of this displayed a cowardice and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fraternization that would, if this were a war, get it collectively shot. It has portrayed the president as a sort of amiable uncle, left his lies and mistatements unchallenged, protected him from any serious challenge. This is not, I think, for the most part ideological; it is a mixture of attenuated memory, lethargic analysis, celebrity fawning and extreme concern for the media's own social position in the spheres of power. The media can not be expected to free us of the horrors Reagan has created short of some gross illegality upon which it happens to stumble.

No, the answer must come from those who oppose. And the answer must be developed out of a better understanding of the nature of the conflict. This is not business as usual. This is not the struggle of reasonable ideas. This is not a matter of amending legislation, increasing budgets or preventing nominations although such matters are all a part. The problem is much greater. Reagan has created a philosophical free fire zone for himself. This must be removed. He must be challenged not just on the specifics but on the myths, the values and the premises he uses to propel his specifics.

We must cast this struggle in its true nature: the protection of traditionally honored American values, rights and goals against the would-be usurpation of a small, wealthy, power-hungry elite that is increasingly turning this into a government for the few and against the people. The Reagan administration big lies must be called what they are. The hypocracy and the Orwellian perversion of language must be hit at every turn. Americans must be reminded that after the blacks suffer, the poor suffer, the farmers suffer, they are next. They must learn that the smile on the face of their president is that of the Cheshire cat. And that they are being politically robbed of their heritage, their rights and their money.

To change the image requires no small amount of rethinking on the part of those who would oppose the Reagan barons.. The luxury of every progressive group playing its own game is no longer available. There must be a far greater inclusiveness in the progressive movement. We must talk more about what we share and less about our differences. We must shun such gratuitous aggravations as that provided by two liberal members of the civil rights commission who stated, "Civil rights laws were not passed to give civil rights protection to all Americans." The era of progress by mau-mau rhetoric is long over; progressives must speak the language of conciliation, cooperation, inclusiveness and understanding of the variety of American goals and interests. To take but one example: can anyone reasonably wonder at the rightish movement of the white American male given the insulting stereotype of him that has been presented over the recent years by minority and women's groups? And to what end? Finally, as was clear long ago, these groups only helped to hurt their own interests.

There are plenty of suitable targets for social and political reform without including half the population among the unworthy and unredeemable. It has always seemed a great irony to me that in progressive rhetoric the values of the factory worker has taken it on the chops more than the interest rates of the banks. And in this irony, is perhaps one of the reasons for the rise of Reagan.

We may not have much time to get our act together. Progressives drifted through the first Reagan term as though they were still back in the early seventies. Their major organizations are too often over-institutionalized and imbued with the establishment spirit of Washington. There are too few with access to the media who are doing more than using the old failed tactics and language; too few who are listening, reformulating, reaching out to new constituencies with new ideas. There are too few who do not give the silent

(Please turn to page 41)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where Can All the Flowers Go?

Natural Lawn Movement

by Todd Seabury-Kolon

Stephen Kenney has taken his stand against toxins in our yards by refusing to plant a conventional grass lawn. Instead, the doctoral student and English Dept. instructor at the State University of New York's Buffalo campus, has put an ecologically sound garden of 41 types of wildflowers on his 18 x 22 ft. front yard.

Kenney was found guilty on Sept. 20, 1984, of violating the suburban Buffalo village of Kenmore's municipal codes which prohibit physical and health hazards on residential property. He is presently pursuing an appeal of his conviction in the Erie County court with a hearing expected in January. Meanwhile, Kenney's fine accrues daily, and now exceeds $5000.

An advocate of the "natural lawn movement," Kenney is opposed to the grass lawn maintenance which abuses energy and the environment. His view for ecology is much like that of West Germany's Greens.

It all began in the spring of 1983 when Kenney acted on an *Audubon Society* article, which described no-maintenance natural yards. He allowed his lawn to develop naturally without the use of hazardous pesticides, polluting fertilizer, precious water and energy-wasting equipment. Soon he received code violation notices. Kenney ignored the notices and posted an explanatory yard sign (see graphic).

For the trial, Kenney brought in witnesses to dispute the claims of physical and health hazards. Biology Professor Dr. Herman Frost testified that the premises were clean, free of rodents and that they posed no hazard to human health. Bruce Kershner, an expert on "visual impact analysis," disputed testimony which claimed that Kenney's yard obstructed his neighbor's view when she backed out of her driveway, and posed a danger to children on bicycles.

"I am, believe it or not, prepared to go to jail and I think they are prepared to put me there," said Kenney, who continued to compile information and distribute leaflets on the matter. Here, and elsewhere within the developing natural lawn movement, the following points are being made:

NOTICE TO ALL CONCERNED: This lawn is NOT an example of sloth; it is a natural yard growing the way God intended. It is not a breeding ground for mosquitoes, flies or other obnoxious pests. The plants represented here do not emit noxious fumes, produce dangerous allergens, or attract vermin. This lawn will never be the source of noise pollution from lawn mowers or large trucks pumping petrochemicals, nor will the runoff from this yard contain toxic pesticides. And, no valuable natural resources are squandered on its maintenance. This yard is now in a transitional state — from a monoculture made up of grasses alien to North America to a balanced ecosystem made up of plants and wildflowers native to this area.

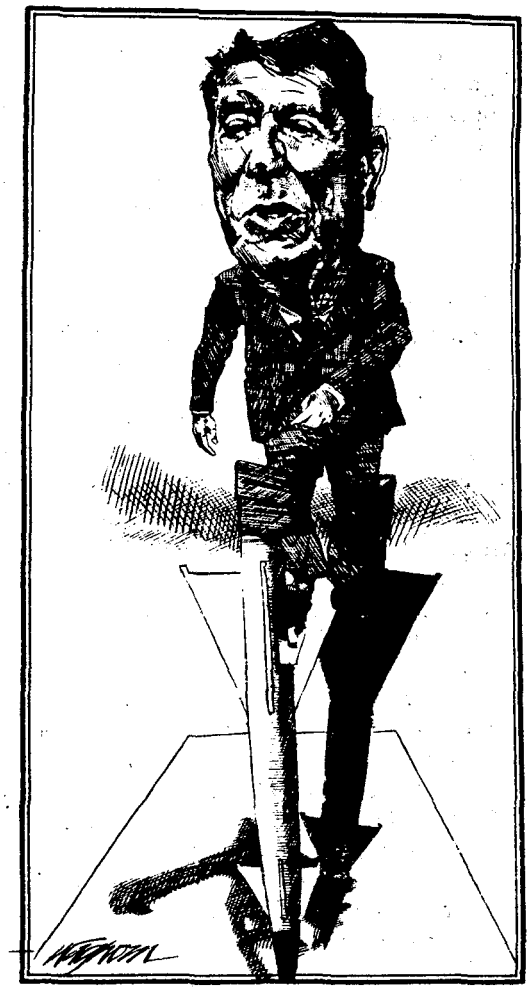
☐ U.S. homeowners use more chemical fertilizer for their lawns than India uses for its food crops.

☐ Chemical lawn companies and homeowners pour millions of gallons of poisons around their homes every year to control weeds. While these chemical brews are deemed "safe when used as directed," children, pets and pregnant women are warned to keep off the grass for a specified period. Many of the same chemicals, when found in discarded drums, are labeled "toxic wastes." One study reported that pesticide levels in lawn-fed urban streams are two to four times higher than in rural streams even

(Please turn to page 41)

Northern Sun News

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE TERMINAL FIX

Lenny Siegel

Lenny Siegel is director of the Pacific Studies Center in Mountain View, CA and co-author of the forthcoming book, "The High Cost of High Tech: the Dark Side of the Chip."

Congress may halt production of the MX missile. Negotiators in Geneva may develop formulas to restrict or reduce missiles. But the Pentagon is working on at least one new technology which could speed up the arms race no matter what budget-cutters or arms-controllers do.

This involves applying "terminal guidance" to nuclear warheads. Terminal guidance, or "fixing," was used on the "smart" weapons that sped U.S. bombs toward Vietnamese bridges and aimed Argentine missiles at British targets, and Israeli missiles at Syrian targets, in 1982.

Now, for the first time, it is being studied for the targeting of nuclear-armed intercontinental ballistic missiles, or ICBMs.

"Smart nukes" would require no major technological breakthrough. But producing and deploying such weapons would mark a significant policy shift, because the only reason to field super-accurate nuclear weapons is to convince Soviet leaders that the United States can launch a pre-emptive "first strike."

And, no matter how preposterous such an idea might seem to outsiders, just the perception that one power is prepared to make such an assault increases the possibility of nuclear war.

Yet if current research and development efforts succeed, the vehicles carrying U.S. nuclear warheads may someday contain a guidance system which can compare radar reflections of the earth with an electromagnetic "map" stored in an on-board computer. The warheads will actually maneuver, using radar "landmarks" to home in for direct hits on their targets—blast-resistant Soviet missile silos and command centers.

The proposed fixing system is similar to the unproven guidance mechanism now deployed on the intermediate-range Pershing II missile in Europe. But because ICBMs must travel greater distances at much faster speeds than the Pershing, the new weapon presents enormous technical problems.

The Air Force is using work on the Midgetman missile—the relatively small, single-warhead ICBM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

favored by many of President Reagan's critics—as an umbrella for guidance research efforts. So far, a lightweight version of the MX missile vehicle has been designated the "baseline," or basic, guidance system for Midgetman.

However, the Air Force Small Missile Independent Advisory Group recommended the study of several potentially more accurate approaches—including terminal fixing.

Early last year, the A.F. Ballistic Missile Office awarded contracts to at least three aerospace companies to conduct engineering studies of terminal-fix guidance for Midgetman. Now it is evaluating proposals from four firms—General Electric, Lockheed, Martin-Marietta and McDonnell-Douglas—for a 3-year demonstration program.

If development is successful, the first Midgetman—scheduled for deployment in 1992—could have smart re-entry vehicles. And the Pentagon is considering using terminal guidance systems on the MX and submarine-launched Trident missiles.

Today, these weapons rely on inertial guidance systems, which get their bearings when a missile is launched, though submarine-launched missiles update those bearings with guidance from the stars.

Though the Pentagon does not release official estimates of missile accuracy, the authoritative "Aviation Week" magazine reports the "minimum error" with inertial guidance is about 300 feet—or a 50-50 chance that a missile will land within 300 feet of its target.

(Many scientists suggest that such factors as variations in the Earth's gravitational pull and ice crystals in the atmosphere could throw a missile off course, but Air Force officials say those factors have been considered.)

With terminal guidance, Aviation Week says, minimum error is projected at 150 feet—close enough to destroy even super-hardened Soviet targets.

Though the work involved might be interesting, the impetus behind smart ICBMs is political, not technological.

- First, U.S., and perhaps Soviet, leaders assume it is only a matter of time before one side or the other "breaks out" of the Salt I treaty restricting the construction of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems. If the USSR builds such a system, the Air Force wants maneuverable missiles to overcome Soviet defenses.
- Second, the Midgetmen, like submarine-launched missiles, are supposed to be constantly on the move. That mobility is designed to improve the chances of surviving an attack, but it also makes it more difficult to aim them accurately. Terminal guidance offers the potential for correcting errors at launch.
- Third, and most important, the only reason to design missiles to knock out hardened Soviet targets is to prepare to launch a pre-emptive first strike. Obviously, super-accurate missiles have no value in a retaliatory attack since there is no military gain in hitting an empty missile silo.

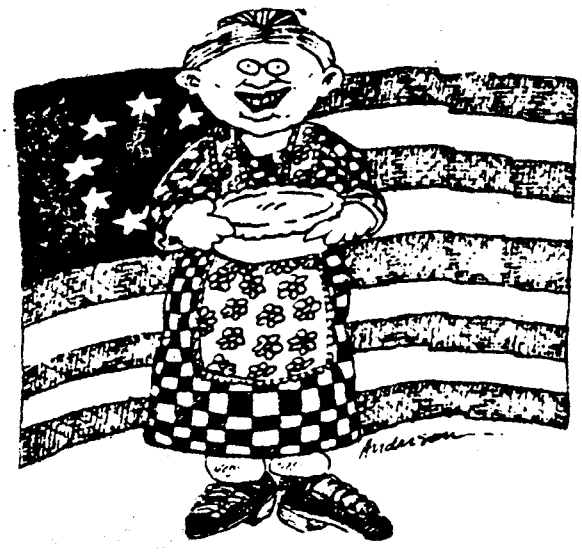
Few strategists believe that either superpower will ever achieve the nuclear superiority needed to launch a truly effective first strike. But Reagan administration strategists believe the threat of global annihilation alone will not deter a Soviet assault on Europe or the Middle East. We must also, they say, appear ready to initiate, and "win," a nuclear conflict, whatever the toll.

The goal for now is to back up tough talk with the big stick of advanced technologies. But if the Soviets believe the United States might deploy even a partially effective first strike force, they are likely to build new weapons and employ new technologies of their own. Most important, to avoid destruction by a quick-drawing U.S. president, they will keep their fingers on the trigger.

Copyright PNS

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children — **Dwight D. Eisenhower.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Apple Pie

The Committee on Public Doublespeak of the National Council of Teachers of English has given its annual awards. First place went to the State Department of its use of "unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of life" as a substitute for "killing." Other contenders for the honor:

- The Pentagon which described peace as "permanent pre-hostility."
- The National Transportation Safety board which called airplane crashes as "controlled flights into terrain."
- Admiral Wesley McDonald for his "We were not micromanaging Grenada inteligencewise until about that time frame."
- A transit official's explanation of why a certain clock always was 15 minutes late: "This cock is working fine, but it's just on a different time scheme from other clocks in the same system."
- A black and white TV set described as featuring "non multi-color capability."
- A Defense Department official who called for the "unconsolidation" of the Nicaraguan government.
- A bill in New Jersey that refers to executioners as "execution technicians."

The group also gives an award for "distinguished contribution to honesty and clarity in public language." This year it went to Ted Koppel of ABC.

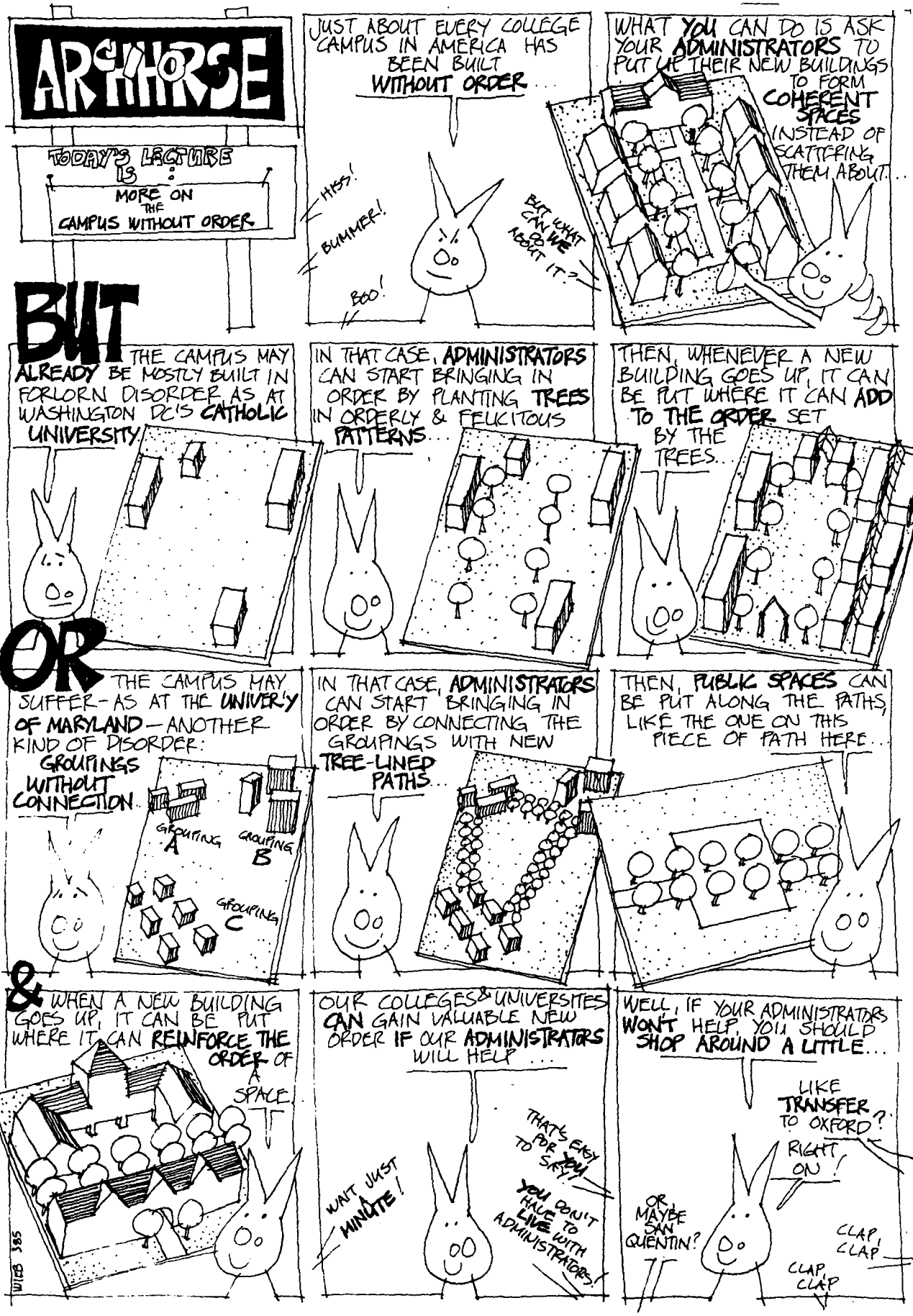
The University of Kentucky is offering a course in the history of its basketball team. The teacher: Professor Humbert Nelli, whose scholarly works include "The Winning Tradition: A History of Kentucky Wildcat Basketball." Forty-five students have already signed up for the class, which includes 14 two-hour lectures and a 15-to-30-page term paper.

The latest couple to get the show-biz treatment are Mr. and Mrs. Lech Walesa. The Polish union leader's love story is being made into a movie. Michael Douglas has reportedly been tapped to portray Walesa, but no word yet on the female lead. Walesa's royalties from the film will be donated to the Solidarity trade union.

The Center for Judicial Studies has mailed letters to eight-thousand judges, offering to supply them with conservative-minded law clerks. Potential clerks must pass an ideological purity test to make sure they're all right. And they get extra points if they name William Rehnquist as their favorite Supreme Court justice.

(Please turn to page 41)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


ARCHHORSE
TODAY'S LECTURE IS: MORE ON THE CAMPUS WITHOUT ORDER
JUST ABOUT EVERY COLLEGE CAMPUS IN AMERICA HAS BEEN BUILT WITHOUT ORDER...
HISS!
BUMMER!
BOO!
BUT WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT?
WHAT YOU CAN DO IS ASK YOUR ADMINISTRATORS TO PUT UP THEIR NEW BUILDINGS TO FORM COHERENT SPACES INSTEAD OF SCATTERING THEM ABOUT...
BUT
THE CAMPUS MAY ALREADY BE MOSTLY BUILT IN FORLORN DISORDER, AS AT WASHINGTON DC'S CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.
IN THAT CASE, ADMINISTRATORS CAN START BRINGING IN ORDER BY PLANTING TREES IN ORDERLY & FELICITOUS PATTERNS...
THEN, WHENEVER A NEW BUILDING GOES UP, IT CAN BE PUT WHERE IT CAN ADD TO THE ORDER SET BY THE TREES...
OR
THE CAMPUS MAY SUFFER - AS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND - ANOTHER KIND OF DISORDER: GROUPINGS WITHOUT CONNECTION...
GROUPING A
GROUPING B
GROUPING C
IN THAT CASE, ADMINISTRATORS CAN START BRINGING IN ORDER BY CONNECTING THE GROUPINGS WITH NEW TREE-LINED PATHS...
THEN, PUBLIC SPACES CAN BE PUT ALONG THE PATHS, LIKE THE ONE ON THIS PIECE OF PATH HERE...
&
WHEN A NEW BUILDING GOES UP, IT CAN BE PUT WHERE IT CAN REINFORCE THE ORDER OF A SPACE.
WITB '85
OUR COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES CAN GAIN VALUABLE NEW ORDER IF OUR ADMINISTRATORS WILL HELP...
WAIT JUST A MINUTE!
THAT'S EASY FOR YOU TO SAY! YOU DON'T HAVE TO LIVE WITH ADMINISTRATORS!
WELL, IF YOUR ADMINISTRATORS WON'T HELP, YOU SHOULD SHOP AROUND A LITTLE...
LIKE TRANSFER TO OXFORD?
RIGHT ON!
OR MAYBE SAN QUENTIN?
CLAP, CLAP
CLAP, CLAP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO'S FOR MAYOR?: The last time around everyone wanted to be mayor. Now it seems different. There have been a stunning lack of murmurs of interest, toes dipped in the water, fingers held up to the wind.

The explanation for this has little to do with any wonders of the Barry administration (there have been few and they are drifting into history); it has a

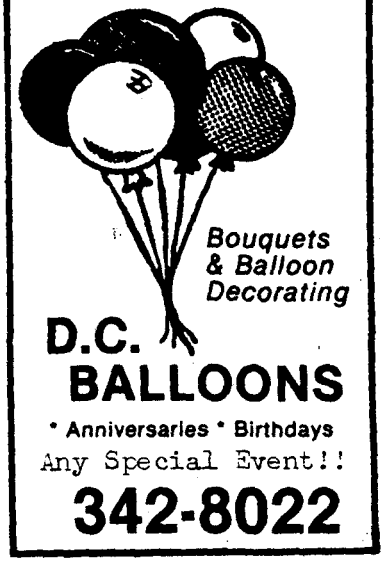
DC NEWS AND COMMENT
Sam Smith

lot to do with the nature of DC politics, which is, at its heart, an incumbentocracy. Barry has so far avoided serious trouble over various suggestions of impropriety on his part and not enough people seem to show much interest in the thesis that the number of his subordinates who have gotten in trouble reflects discredit on his ability to govern. Further, the fact that many of the major social and economic problems of the city are being either ignored or covered up with rhetoric and showboating appears to be an irrelevancy to much of DC.

My thinking is that DC is in an early stage of an era that once was used to describe Philadelphia: corrupt and contented. Never have I seen in this town so many so smug about so little. This sort of attitude does not change easily. In Philadelphia's case it lasted 69 years.

At the present time, the only person who might hope to win against Barry, and who deserves to, is John Wilson. There are others who might attempt it, such as Charlene Jarvis or John Ray. But the only possible reason for voting for them is the one cited by Mae West. She said that when faced with a choice between two evils she always picked the one she hadn't tried yet.

Wilson, on the other hand, is the single most interesting politician in town. Although the City Paper dismissed him the other day as a Richard Pryor of politics, those who have been represented by John know



Affordable Senior Housing

Efficiencies and one-bedroom apartments for independent elderly singles & couples. Federally subsidized rents based upon 30% of income. One meal charge daily. Foggy Bottom area near Metrorail, buses, stores and churches. Call 223-5712

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DC REPORT CARD

Here's our monthly scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action and one point plus or minus for a public position taken without doing anything or for a bill introduced. On especially important bills we give four points plus or minus. Listed below are the 1985 grades plus the cumulative grades since we began the report card in 1984. A grade of C or score of 0 means the politician did right about half the time. A politician with a + score votes right more often than not; while one with a - score votes wrong more often than not. Here are this month's issues:

HOUSING FINANCE AGENCY: The council voted to override the mayor's veto of a bill that gives the council the right to approve projects of the Housing Finance Agency. This is a rare and welcome exception to the council's granting excessive authority to the mayor. Now if they would only take over the role of the zoning commission. . . . Only two councilmembers opposed the override: Polly Shackleton and John Ray lose two points as a result, as does the mayor.

RENT CONTROL EXTENSION: Carol Schwartz gets a point for adding her support to the list of those (see last month) supporting extension of the rent control bill.

AUTOMATIC PHONE SELLING: Polly Shackleton gets a point for introducing legislation that would ban the use of automated dialing or push-button telephone systems with prerecorded messages to solicit cales or request survey information.

DEPOSIT BILL: Hilda Mason gets a point for reintroducing her bottle deposit bill.

ART IN BUILDINGS: David Clarke gets a point for his bill that would require that 1% of construction funds for new and substantially renovated District government buildings be used for the acquisition or commission of art work to be displayed in or incoporated into the buildings.

INDIVIDUAL HOUSING ACCOUNTS: John Ray gets a point for his bill that would set up a system of individual housing accounts (a local parallel to IRAs), in which individuals and married couples could place up to $3000 a year (up to $15,000) in tax-free deposits.

ALTERNATIVE SENTENCING COMMISSION: Wilhelmina Rolark gets a point for her bill to establish an alternative sentencing commission to study various alternatives to incarceration.

PRISON CONSTRUCTION: Marion Barry and John Wilson lose a point for supporting construction of a new prison in DC. Wilhelmina Rolark gains a point for opposing it. (Please turn to page 42)

NAME	1985 SCORE	CUMUL SCORE	1985 GRADE	CUMUL GRADE
ROLARK	8	2	A	C
CLARKE	7	3	A	C
MASON	6	21	A	B
WILSON	6	12	A	B
WINTER	4	-2	B	C
SMITH	3	-3	B	C
SHACKLETON	2	-8	B	C
SPAULDING	2	-18	B	D
JARVIS	2	-23	B	D
RAY	0	-12	C	D
SCHWARTZ	-3	-3	D	D
KANE	-4	2	D	C
CRAWFORD	-4	-24	D	D
BARRY	-2	-32	D	F
COUNCIL AV	2	-4		

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is a lot more to him than his wit. He, after all, represents the one polyglot ward in the city running from Georgetown to the ghetto, from the Southwest condos to the street heating ducts. A remarkable variety of constituents think highly of Wilson. He is, no doubt about it, very much of a practical politician. And there are some solid reasons why he should not be supported, including his backing of new prison construction and his flirting with a return of capital punishment. But at the moment he seems the strongest and best alternative to Barry that has surfaced.

The odds, of course, are stacked against anyone beating Barry, but even so, it is useful to have a campaign in which someone will help provide the framework for developing a successful alternative. If nothing else, it slows the entropy of the public spirit.

RENT CONTROL GAMES: Don't be surprised at what happens to the rent control bill as it makes its way through the council. Just because council members say they favor extension doesn't mean that crippling amendments won't be snuck in as time goes on. A case in point: talk of defining minimum rent levels for rent control, a device that would have the effect of reducing the number of units covered and, coincidentally, doing it heavily in Ward Three, which to a number of councilmembers is politically expendable.

THERE HE GOES AGAIN: Sterling Tucker, once you add in his non-competitive contract for $24,500 to advise the lottery on marketing and training, is now up to nearly $100,000 in city consulting goodies over the past year. Says Tucker: "Somebody in the public may get the impression that I am feasting off the city. I am not. I give full service and more."

(Please turn to page 42)

Roses & Thorns

THORNS TO MARION BARRY for planning to spend $500,000 of city funds on a Chinese arch, with matching aid from the People's Republic, without getting the approval of the people who have to walk under it, namely residents and business folk of Chinatown.

THORNS TO DC SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT FLORETTA MCKENZIE for shutting down a Georgetown shelter for the homeless (in two vacant school buildings) on extremely short notice — after getting complaints from local residents about noise and other problems.

ROSES TO THE DISTRICT WEEKLY in the Washington Post for introducing some real hard news into what too often has been a slush feature-filled section. The Weekly now has a crime log, reports of house sales and zoning actions. Small town papers do this sort of thing all the time, but the biggies seem to think city dwellers don't care what happens down the street. One further suggestion along these lines: a daily box explaining the cause of various traffic jams that readers may have found themselves inexplicably caught in the day before.

ROSES TO THE HOWARD SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM for its Community News, a paper that covers 14 communities in its area. A very professional looking and reading job. Too bad they can't cover the whole city.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Your bias in favor of rent control led to your failure to point out, as the Washington Post did, that "Betti S. Whaley, president of the Washington Urban League, testified that the Ray bill 'offers the needed framework' for developing a more comprehensive approach. She said the League supports provisions in the Ray bill designed to stimulate construction and rehabilitation of buildings by offering tax incentives."

You should poll the AFL-CIO and ask them if they are or are not in favor of steps to stimulate construction and rehabilitation of buildings which provide housing by whatever means including the kind of tax incentives proposed by John Ray. Other cities do it; why not us?

At the same time you might ask the AFL-CIO and Joslyn Williams, president of that group, why they have not resisted the over-production of office buildings and insisted that more housing be built and rehabilitated for low and moderate income families. It is absurd for the AFL-CIO to build housing only for the rich and powerful.

Perhaps you could ask the AFL-CIO if it is true, as it appears to be, that its construction trades prefer to work on office buildings and luxury housing as, for example, in the West End area which is controlled so largely by the Carr Company and the US News & World Report. Three luxury hotels are slated for completion in that area which the New York Times calls the luxury hotel area of Washington DC.

George Frain
Adams Morgan

There seems to be a tendency for proposals for incentives for low and moderate income housing to burgeon about the time that rent control legislation is due to expire. This can lead one to suspect that the motivation and effect of such proposals is less pure than alleged. It seems to me the time to consider such proposals is after we have extended rent control. If, as claimed, such plans can take care of the problem we will then have time to observe this empirically, rather than just taking John Ray and Betty Ann Kane's word for it.

I assume the reason the construction trades like to work on luxury housing and office buildings is the same that Willie Sutton had for robbing banks: that's where the money is. While I agree that these unions have been less than impressive in their concern for low and moderate income housing, their apathy has been much more than matched by developers, planners and local politicians. —s.s.

We are writing on behalf of millions across the nation who annually face income tax penalties—because they are single. Under current law the penalty for being single is as high as 20%. That is to say, a single taxpayer's tax is as much as 20% more than that paid by a married person on the same taxable income.

Of great concern is the plethora of "tax simplification" plans which have been proposed by various members of the Congress as well as by the administration. Thus far all the various measures which have been put forth would greatly increase the tax penalty for being single.

H.R. 37, introduced by Mr. Annunzio in the 97th Congress, would have lowered the income tax rate for singles to the rate paid by a married person. Further, in the case of two-income couples, each partner would have been taxed only on his/her own income (at the lowest rates), without having to combine both incomes and ending up in an artificially high bracket. (This would totally eliminate the "marriage penalty," which was partially corrected a few years ago with a tax deduction of about 10% of the lower-paid spouse's income.)

In order to achieve tax justice and equality, the

(Please turn to page 42)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LONDON LETTER

Des Wilson

In an earlier column, I advised readers to keep an eye open for the trial at the Old Bailey of the former senior civil servant, Clive Ponting, on charges under Section 2 of the Official Secrets Act. You will no doubt know that the trial took place, Ponting was acquitted and that a furious political row broke out—a row likely to have considerable long-term repercussions.

First, a quick reminder of the details of the case: Ponting was the departmental head of the Ministry of Defense who was given the responsibility of drafting the ministry's reply to questions from a Select Committee of the House of Commons about the sinking of an Argentine warship, the *General Belgrano*. Ponting, who supported the sinking, spelt out in his memorandum the correct facts but was astonished to find that his ministers were not happy for them to be disclosed, preferring to mislead the committee. Why was that? Because the correct facts were at variance with what ministers had told the House of Commons on earlier occasions.

In fact, it would have been perfectly proper for ministers to inform the House that at the time they had made details known to members of Parliament, they had genuinely believed them to be accurate, but that subsequent information, collated in more peaceable conditions, necessitated some correction.

Unfortunately, ministerial pride would not allow this, and when you add to that the pique of the Prime Minister over any questions about her Falklands triumph whatsoever, the chances of the Ponting document being approved were virtually nil. Thus, answers were given to the Select Committee that were untrue.

Ponting then leaked his factually correct account to a member of Parliament and was charged under Section 2 of the Official Secrets Act, the section dealing with non-national security matters, and had he been found guilty, would have been sent to prison.

The point of my last column on this matter was to propose that if Ponting was cleared, the Official Secrets Act would be permanently discredited, and that the main vehicle of British secrecy (and there is little question that we are the most secretive democracy in the world) would have to be ditched. This, I hoped, would create the circumstances for the introduction to Britain of freedom of information legislation.

What has happened since the case illustrates a number of features of the British political scene at this time.

First, there were calls for the resignation of the Secretary of State for Defense, Michael Heseltine, and his Minister of State, John Stanley. The latter, the junior of the two, is probably the most unpopular minister in the Thatcher administration. His arrogance and rudeness to civil servants is legendary. One civil servant, asked why he had made a donation to the Clive Ponting Defense Fund, replied darkly "I once worked for John Stanley." In Whitehall this is seen as a more than adequate explanation.

In order to understand what Heseltine is like, you have to imagine Tarzan let loose in Westminster, swinging from the chandeliers in the House of Commons, beating his breast loudly, and making animal-like noises. Heseltine, tall and blonde, is actually known as Tarzan, not just because of his physical appearance, but also because of the macho simplicity of his political style. When a number of peace women needed to be moved from a derelict piece of land near the Molesworth cruise missile site, Heseltine personally led about 1500 soldiers, dressed in a flak jacket, and parading himself afterwards before the television cameras as if he had just won a major war.

Easter is always a high profile for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; in order to combat their publicity last year, Heseltine dramatically flew to Berlin to be filmed by television cameras in front of the Berlin wall to illustrate the reasons why nuclear weapons were necessary (to his satisfaction, if nobody else's).

It is entirely typical of Heseltine and Stanley that, given the choice between an open or a secretive approach, they would adopt the latter, even when the former appears to be harmless and even beneficial.

Anyone but Heseltine would have made sure that Ponting was not prosecuted in the first place. It is typical of his arrogance that when the matter was being considered, he let it be known that he wanted Ponting in the dock of the Old Bailey, and it never crossed his mind that a jury would not convict.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is equally typical of Heseltine that once the jury had acquitted Ponting, Heseltine set up his own trial in the House of Commons. A debate took place the following week on the *Belgrano* affair, and Heseltine devoted most of his 75 minutes to an attack on Clive Ponting, during which he published for the first time documents that previously he said should be kept secret—only documents, of course, which appeared to support his position. Backed by baying Tory MPs, he submitted Ponting to another trial in which he was prosecutor, chief witness, and finally, judge and jury.

Rather like the massive military operation to remove the few women from the Molesworth cruise missile site, it was a momentary triumph, but left almost everybody feeling uneasy afterwards.

Much more crucial questions, however, are raised by the affair than the qualities and reputation of either Clive Ponting or Michael Heseltine. One issue is secrecy, for the whole affair was only caused because of the obsession with secrecy within Westminster and Whitehall, and the absurd rules and regulations that support it. Few believe that the Attorney General would dare to use Section 2 of the Official Secrets Act after the Ponting case, and so the question now is whether they will seek to replace it with even more severe legislation, or finally accept that this oppressive approach does not work, and that what is really needed is freedom of information with exemptions where confidentiality is really necessary.

In the week following the Ponting case I took part in a meeting of over 1,000 people in the Central Hall Westminster. One of the speakers was the head of the trade union representing the most senior of civil servants. He did not defend the Ponting leaks, but rather took the view that the only constructive way

(Please turn to page 45)

CHARLES McDOWELL

News Update: Starlings

WASHINGTON—The scientific name of the starling is *sturnus vulgaris*, which is Latin for prejudice against a common, scruffy-looking bird.

Recently I wrote a column about starlings and how smart they really are. I did not know a great deal about starlings in a scientific sense. But I had been watching them for years and knew they were out of the league of most birds in brains and talent. And the truth is, I was willing to exaggerate starlings' skill as mimics, for instance, to make a kind of populist's point that common, scruffy-looking birds are not properly appreciated.

Soon I got a letter from Beth Beauch of Chantilly, in Northern Virginia. She identified herself as a "licensed wildlife rehabilitator." When I saw that, I assumed she was going to chastise me for exaggerating. A wildlife rehabilitator is a professional who tends to sick and injured birds; Beth Beauch would know what she was talking about.

Well, she said I had understated the marvelous powers of starlings. She cited the example of a young one she took into her house as an orphan. The bird, Cricket by name, grew up but refused to be set free. Meanwhile, the bird learned to mimic the calls of the jays, catbirds, mockingbirds and parakeets around the place. Then it began to talk.

From its cage, the starling would yell at Mrs. Beauch's daughter, "Nicole, Nicole!" and at her husband, "Lynn, come here, come on, Lynn."

Cricket is 3 years old. In the first year, the members of the family would go to the bird when summoned and say, "You all right, Crick, you OK?" Now, when the come, the bird says it for them. And when a stranger curiously approaches the cage, the bird will say brightly, "You OK?"

The bird speaks in Mrs. Beauch's mountain accent. She is from Covington in the Alleghenies; the starling is from Loudoun County in the Washington suburbs. Anyhow, Lynn comes out as a two-syllable word, Lee-un, and the mimicry is making Mrs. Beauch self-conscious about her own drawl.

The starling stirs up the other birds in adjoining cages by rattling off their calls urgently, and soon the racket is such that a human has to intervene. Cricket has learned to say at the proper moment, "Shhh!" and then to make whispering sounds.

Sometimes the starling goes to the other extreme and imitates the fire siren. Sometimes it imitates the ratcheting sound of Lynn Beauch rotating his television antenna. Sometimes the bird reels off a long string of words it has heard recently, all jumbled, and then clearly, "Whatcha saying, Crick, whatcha saying?" When Beth Beauch had the flu, the starling affected to develop a cough.

Richmond Times Dispatch

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUGENE McCARTHY

Hardship & Virtue

A recent biographical sketch of Archbishop Weakland of Milwaukee, makes a special point of the fact that the Archbishop, as a small boy, lived in a house in which the bedrooms were unheated, and that on cold mornings he would go downstairs in his night clothes to change in the heat which radiated from a central coal stove. This experience, among others, had, according to the article, formed the Archbishop's positive character. I was reminded by the report that I had had the same experience, in the same kind of house, but have been unaware of its character building potential. I recall that it was rather pleasant, even exciting, to change clothes close to the coal stove in the living room, watching the flames through the ising glass windows of the stove, a pleasure which was lost when what we called "city water" was put in the town and a furnace and hot water heating system installed in our family house. The new heating arrangement was called "central heating," a misnomer, I think, since it was not central heat but distributed heat with radiators in every room. The old system, if it can be called a system, was truly central, and not much more than that. In any case, central or not, I was exposed to the character building of the cold bedroom and the hot coal stove during my formative years, and may have, without my knowing it, benefitted from the experience.

The report of the Archbishop's hardship and character building moved me to recall other reports of character building experiences which may have affected my character. For example, in the presidential campaign of 1972 it was noted that Senator Muskie, one of the candidates, had as a boy taken Saturday night baths in a wash tub set on the kitchen floor. This information was not presented as incidental information but as having bearing on Mr, Muskie's presidential qualifications. I had had the same treatment but had never associated anything in my character with that fact. My brother and I had bathed in the same way, again before we got the city water and the furnace and a bathroom complete with tub. The water we used was cistern water, moderately warm as it came from the reservoir on the cook stove, with an extra shot of boiling water from the tea kettle added. As I remember we enjoyed the baths, more than later ones in proper bathtubs. We were repeatedly warned against splashing water on the kitchen floor. This restraint may have been character building.

Then in 1975, I discovered that I had either missed a chance to build by character or that my character had been built in some measure without my knowing of it. In that year *Newsweek* magazine, in a full page advertisement set out what they considered both the negative and the positive attributes of Jimmy Carter, as a potential President of the United States. Among the positive ones was listed the fact that Jimmy as a boy had used, down in Georgia, an outdoor toilet. I had that same experience but had never thought to take any public credit for it. In fact, I had had the experience under conditions more taxing and demanding than the conditions in Georgia. In Minnesota there was the summer exposure to bumble bees and out-house wasps, which I assume was also the case in Georgia. But the winter exposure in Minnesota, in twenty below zero weather, must have been an even stronger force for developing courage, and fortitude, than any expose in Georgia.

I might add a fourth experience, possibly even more powerful as a character builder than those of the Archbishop, Sen. Muskie, and Jimmy Carter, that of cleaning out a chicken house with the first spring thaw, after a winter of housing chickens indoors in sub-freezing weather.

Mayor Koch said yesterday that New York State should adopt tougher criminal penalties even if it meant diverting hundreds of millions of dollars of state and local money to build many more prisons. If forced to choose between improving the city's education system and incarcerating more criminals, the Mayor said, he would expand the prison system. —New York Times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THINGS TO READ & DO

Summer Ecology Program: The Institute for Social Ecology will be running a series of courses in Vermont June 21-July 21 including ones on ecology and society, feminism and ecology, ecological agriculture, community health and holistic healing and advanced concepts in social ecology. College credits will be given. The comprehensive cost for the program is $1275. Info: Institute for Social Ecology, Summer Programs, Box 89, Plainfield, Vermont 05667.

PEACE CATALOG: Articles and essays on various aspects of peace, director and information on over 1000 peace organizations, guide to socially responsible investing, and a list of reference books, publications and films. $14.95 from Press for Peace, 5621 Seaview Ave. NW, Seattle WA 98107.

RESIST: Small foundation that funds groups who are working for peace and social justice. Guidelines for grant applications and info: Resist, 38 Union Square, Somerville MA 02143.

PEACE LAW BRIEF BANK: Established to provide help to peace workers challenging US military policies. Info: Ann Fagan Ginger, President, Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701.

GREAT ATLANTIC RADIO CONSPIRACY: Provides tapes for individuals, institutions and radio stations on a wide variety of movement issues. Info: GARC, 2743 Maryland Ave, Baltimore Md. 21218.

WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES 1983: a 46-page booklet that tells who the nations of the world spend their resources. $4 from SANE, 711 G St SE, DC 20003.

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF A NUCLEAR FREEZE: A 120-page study analyzing effects of a freeze on the budget, employment and deficits.$7 from SANE, 711 G St. SE, DC 20003.

NUCLEAR WAR PREVENTION KIT: A useful guide from the Center for Defense Information. $5 from CDI, 600 Maryland Ave SW #303 W, DC 20024. Also a force level calculator of the pull card variety that let's you compare GNP, population, military budget, troops, nuclear weapons etc. of NATO, Warsaw Pact and China. $3.

SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE AND INTEGRATED FARMING: Proceedings of a national alternative agriculture conference held last year. $18.95 from Michigan State University Press, 1405 S Harrison Road, East Lansing, Mich. 48824.

BARRIERS TO EXCELLENCE: OUR CHILDREN AT RISK: Report on children who for reasons of economics, race or sex, are indadequately served by the nation's school system and what to do about it. $5.50 from the National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 76 Summer St #350, Boston MA 02110.

HANDBOOK ON CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT: Contains addresses and phone numbers of state and regional enforcement agencies, and lists good procedures for collecting child support. Free from Department 43, Consumer Information Center, Pueblo CO 81009.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHUCK STONE

Look Who Agrees With Farrahan

President Ronald Reagan and Nation of Islam Minister Louis Farrakhan joined in wholly unanimity?

You got it.

Impossible, you demur.

But on a program for black economic self-determination, Reagan and Farrakhan are as close as 99.9 is to 100.

The two putatively irreconcilable ideologues even manage a cozy consensus on the means.

Oral hygiene.

"Blacks spend about $1.1 billion on toothpaste and mouthwash each year," Farrakhan told 7,000 enthusiasts in Philadelphia.

"With all the blacks coming out of colleges with business skills, why can't we produce toothpaste?"

No disagreement from Reagan. Burnishing bicuspids is big business.

"Between $130 and $140 billion is spent by the black community," he told me in an interview five years ago at his California home.

"If you're going to buy a toothpaste," he said with a grin, "why not buy it from a black-owned drugstore?"

But there's more than similarities in the Reagan-Farrakhan economic theory.

Farrakhan went on to lavishly praise the president whom 72 percent of black Americans in a poll recently rebuffed as a down-home, cotton-pickin' racist.

"Mr. Reagan is looking at the nation as a whole. He says you get what you can take out of America and if you can't, that's tough. I like his attitude," thundered Farrakhan, sounding like a theoretical cross between Jack Kemp and Calvin Coolidge.

"I think his attitude is best for us. I think Mr. Reagan will turn out to be the best friend that black people have had in the White House since Abraham Lincoln."

If you can swallow that hyperbole without choking, the economic advice from Reagan and Farrakhan makes exceptionally good sense.

If black Americans could manufacture, produce, sell or manage just a one-tenth of the $190 billion they spend annually, they could part the waters of economic bondage and lead themselves into the promised land.

But too often, the nobility of the message is obscured by the obloquy of the messenger.

Despite Farrakhan's lifelong record of religious integrity, community service and economic uplift, he has yet to develop any significant followship among 26 million black Americans.

Nor has he persuaded many whites that he can be trusted.

I've covered him as a public personality and known him as a friend since 1958 and have admired his ideas on economic self-help.

Certainly, the overflow crowds his charisma is drawing on his 14-city tour attest to the magnetic logic of his ideals. But how many leave the halls to join the Nation of Islam?

As for Ronald Reagan, just his name symbolizes retrogression to blacks.

In the early months of his campaign, Reagan sent out code signals faster than a wireless operator to white America that his administration would cut back on civil rights and racial equality.

I don't think he intended to return the nation to *Plessy vs. Ferguson.* But he did seem to look wistfully at the merits of Woodrow Wilson's racial glaucoma.

Aided by the litigative belligerence of his assistant attorney general for civil rights, William Bradford Reynolds, his transformation of the U.S. Rights Commission into an apologist for *apartheid* and a publicly reserved attitude toward most egalitarian legislation, Reagan has communicated an unfortunate impression of vigorous hostility to blacks.

And they have responded in kind.

Yet if blacks were to incorporate Reagan's ideas on self-help into their lives, they could wreak an economic miracle.

Also deserving of their staunch support are his proposals for enterprise zones, job training, the Youth

(Please turn to page 45)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WARNING!

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY H-BOMB TRUCK

(for hauling nuclear weapons and parts)

Identifying characteristics:

1. Unpainted, unmarked steel sides on trailer.
2. Square-rigged radio antenna atop cab; wind deflector behind.
3. Some trucks display "Marmon" manufacturing emblem.
4. Most truck cabs painted with parallel stripes, straight or zigzag.
5. U.S. Government license plates, starting with letter E.
6. Letters AM on front of trailer at right.
7. Parallel diagonal lines (not visible here) on back of trailer.
8. Usually escorted by one or more courier cars (e.g. Chevrolet Suburbans) fitted with radio antenna at left rear of vehicle.
9. Seen on freeways in all the lower 48 states.

Keep this picture in your car. If you should see a nuclear weapons convoy, jot down the vehicle colors and license plate numbers (if available), time and place of sighting, and direction in which it was going. Send the information as soon as possible to NUKEWATCH, 315 West Gorham, Madison, WI 53703 (608/256-4145). Nukewatch will relay your sighting to others.

Your participation can help make all of us more aware of the daily intrusion of the H-bomb into our lives.

CAUTION: Do not interfere with or harrass these convoys. Operators are heavily armed. Be nonviolent in approaching these vehicles and their personnel.

Bomb truck cards available from Nukewatch for $1.00 each; 25-99, 50¢ each; 100-up, 40¢ each. Complete truck watch kit: $5.00.

by Barbara Johnson

The Federal Dept. of Transportation (DOT) is discouraging local communities from regulating nuclear waste shipments.

The Materials Transportation Board (MTB), a division of DOT, issued a ruling that state and local restrictions on nuclear waste shipments were inconsistent with federal law and should be preempted by federal law.

The MTB's "inconsistency ruling" is merely interpretative, and is not legally binding in court. Still, a court could give great weight to MTB's interpretation of the law. Undoubtedly, the ruling will be used by utilities and the nuclear power industry to challenge local ordinances in court.

The inconsistency rulings were issued in response to an application made to the MTB by the Nuclear Assurance Corp. (NAC) which transports spent fuel from Chaulk River, Ontario, to a Dept. of Energy (DOE) facility at Savannah River, South Carolina, for reprocessing. One by one, the states through which the waste was shipped (Michigan, New York and Vermont) issued rules banning or restricting the shipments.

The MTB rulings deal only with truck shipments, not with rail. MTB preempted a rule requiring that trucks be accompanied by front and rear state police escorts and a radiation monitoring team.

In Oct. 1982, NAC was forced to suspend shipments, and applied for the inconsistency rulings. In light of recent MTB rulings, we can expect that NAC will soon resume shipments.

--Northern Sun News

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CRACKS IN THE ALLIANCE

David Morrison

David Morrison is a research analyst at the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C.

When New Zealand's Prime Minister, David Lange, announced that a U.S. destroyer carrying nuclear-armed anti-submarine rockets would not be welcome at one of his country's ports, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's response was swift and sweeping. Lange's position, he said, "constitutes a serious attack upon the effectiveness of an alliance which is absolutely essential to the security of New Zealand."

New Zealand's security, however, is hardly hanging in the balance here. New Zealand faces no apparent external threats. What is at stake is a global U.S. security system, founded on the twin pillars of overseas bases and nuclear weaponry. The very fact that the administration is willing to threaten dissolution of the Australian-New Zealand-U.S. "ANZUS" alliance after 33 years in response to Lange's move makes it clear that the Western consensus on nuclear weapons policy is showing unprecedented signs of strain.

The United States today boasts collective defense agreements with more than 50 nations around the world. Standing behind those agreements are some 445,000 U.S. troops stationed at 335 major bases overseas. Almost 550 major warships serve to "show the flag" and project U.S. military power.

These forces are now nuclearized to a startling extent. Ranging from sub-kiloton landmines to 9-megaton gravity bombs, over 26,000 U.S. nuclear weapons are based at more than 200 U.S. sites and in nine foreign countries. Fully 84 percent of major naval combat units can carry atomic weapons, ranging from sub-kiloton depth charges to 200-kiloton Tomahawk cruise missiles.

Clearly, there is no tidy way for allies to accept U.S. military cooperation but reject nuclear weapons. "Love America," Weinberger might have said, "Love her nukes." Any military alliance with the United States is necessarily an atomic alliance.

New Zealand, then, promises to provide a first test of what happens when America's friends reject this pervasive nuclear component. Senior U.S. officials have suggested a menu of possible retaliatory options, from cutting off intelligence data to flooding the world market with dairy products, an important export for New Zealand.

This response may appear overwrought in light of New Zealand's seemingly minor strategic importance. In fact, the United States is embarked on a major "damage limiting" operation, striving to make an example of the most intransigent of its increasingly anti-nuclear allies around the globe.

- The same week as New Zealand's announcement, Australia's prime minister said he lacked political backing to follow through an earlier commitment to provide logistical support for full-range MX missile tests into Australian waters.
- In Europe, both the Dutch and the Belgians seem destined not to follow through on their 1979 commitments to play host to U.S. ground-launched cruise missiles.
- Last October, the British Labor Party adopted a defense platform calling for closure of all U.S. nuclear bases.
- Canada's agreement to allow U.S. air-launched cruise missile test flights across its territory has proved extremely controversial and could well not be renewed.

The ally that most worries US military planners, however, is Japan. The only nation ever attacked with nuclear weapons, Japan officially embraces three "Non-Nuclear Principles"—no manufacture, no possession and no introduction of nuclear weapons. Given that the U.S. has some 48,000 troops based in Japan, and that it is a major way-station and home port for U.S. naval vessels, the inviolability of that third principle seems questionable, at best.

Japan's officials have never insisted that the United States affirm each time one of its warships docks

(Please turn to page 45)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAWN

though rural streams often drain heavily sprayed cropland.

☐ It takes almost two billion calories annually to maintain the highly stressed monoculture of a one-quarter acre lawn; a corn patch requires only 38 percent of that and a prairie yard only a fraction of that.

☐ Translated into dollars, the annual cost of keeping those domestic golf greens looking like the American Dream is $1500 per acre. The figure for a natural prairie is $25 per acre.

☐ As for water consumption, while data are not available, it's no secret that lawn watering strains our continent's water supply.

Kenney has received support from every region of the country. Through small contributions from supporters, he has raised about $800. Several thousand dollars will be needed to fund the appeal. According to Kenney, "there's not much chance of losing the appeal." But if he does, he expects the fine to be much less than $5000. Contributions should be made payable to the Kenney Wildflower Defense Fund, 1753 Iglehart Ave., St. Paul MN 55104.

☐

Todd Seabury-Kolod was a Citizens' Party candidate for the St. Paul City Council.

FILE

From a recent presidential news conference:

What they have down is totalitarian. It is brutal, cruel, and they have no argument against what the rest of the people of Nicaragua want.

What about the specific prohibition by the United States Congress against the kind of conduct which would overthrow their government. Or provide money to do so?

The what?

I'm speaking of the Boland amendment, the specific prohibition of Congress.

I think that some of the proposals that have been made in Congress have lacked a complete understanding of what is at stake there and what we're trying to do.

APPLE

Does staying after school make students behave? Yes, says Canadian Psychologist Lorne Cousins. He says his experience with high school troublemakers showed a little detention goes a long way. Three-quarters of their discipline problems disappeared within a month, but they came back again as soon as he eased up. Cousins says the secret is setting—and enforcing—consistent penalties of one to 15 minutes' detention, depending on the infraction. Says he: "specific punishment for a specific misbehavior is well understood."

The South Korean government is teaching young women to be hookers for foreign visitors. Trainees at government-run orientation programs are told: "You girls must take pride in your devotion to your country. Your carnal conversations with foreign tourists do not prostitute either yourselves or the nation, but express your basic patriotism."

The publicity about New York's so-called "subway vigilante" has convinced Charles Bronson to increase the violence in his next movie, "Death Wish Three." The film's producer says you can look for Bronson to inspire a whole neighborhood to take the law into its own hands, ending with a pitched WWII-style battle against the bad guys.

TOPICS

message that they have a distaste for much of America. There are too few who can give others something for which to hope.

To begin to change all this, we must start with the premise that what the Reagan administration is doing is unique and terribly dangerous. We must move

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to America with humility, hope and inclusiveness and not in the mirror image of the arrogance, rigidity and self-righteousness of our opponents.

REPORT

HOUSING COMMITTEE PERKS: Charlene Jarvis, Frank Smith and William Spaulding each lose two points for voting in committee for a variety of unnecessary council perks inlcuidng $65,000 for overseas travels, funds for entertaining constituents at the convention center and requiring that tourist material include the names of all council members.

LETTERS

principles contained in that bill (pertaining to dual-income married couples as well as singles) should be included in any tax legislation—"simplification" or otherwise—which may be considered by the Congress.

Your readers can help to bring this about by writing to their representatives in Congress as well as to Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, urging that they co-sponsor and vote for a bill equivalent to the 97th Congress' H.R. 37. (Since the 99th Congress is now in session, it is very important to explain that the H.R. 37 in question was introduced in the 97th Congress.)

Glen Spencer
Director
Committee of Single Taxpayers
Bowie, Arizona

CITY DESK

CAVING IN ON PRISONS: No sooner had our city leaders finished with celebrating ten years of "home rule" then they were demonstrating how far we still have to go. Pressed by the Reagan administration and would-be tough-guy Senator Arlen Specter, Mayor Barry reversed field and declared that he now wants to build another prison in DC. Apparently attracted by possibility of federal construction funds, Barry said the prison should be built within the city limits.

DC, which already has the highest incarceration rate of any jurisdiction in a country with the highest incarceration rate of any county save a handful of models of justice like the Soviet Union and South Africa, now appears to be rushing pell-mell towards the sort of appeasement of the federal crime freaks that hasn't been seen since the days of Richard Nixon forcing a huge increase in police officers down our throats.

Besides being a sad reflection of the state of "home rule," the prison moves fly in the face of increasing evidence that lowering crime rates is a lot more complex a matter than just filling more jail cells. This, in fact, is probably one of the least effective approaches, for various reasons not the least being that the American prison system's failure to rehabilitate means that nothing short of life sentences for all crimes could make it truly effective. As usual, building another prison will only solve a political problem and not one of justice. As a group of chaplains from Lorton and the DC Jail said in a letter to Barry and Specter, "The proposal to solve this overcrowding through new jail constuction has been tried repeatedly throughout this nation, and has only led to more inmates, more cost to the taxpayers and more dehumanization through overcrowding."

C&P OUT TO GET US AGAIN: The Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company, asking for a $56 million increase in revenues, has clearly established itself as the most avaricious utility in the area. This proposal, which could more than double the cost of basic residential service, is the sort of thing that makes a strong argument for the greater regulation of the phone company. What is particularly sneaky about this latest in C&P's assault on its responsibilities to the residential consumer (to the benefit of business

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

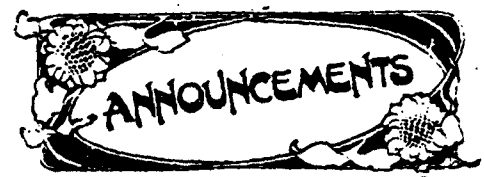
users whose rates would go up only about 12%), is that the company wants to separate "dial tone service" from "usage." The cost for dial tone service could be $13.42 and for usage could be $14.33. Some observers of C&P behavior see this as a back-door way of introducing measured local service, which up to now has been successful opposed by consumer interests.

In any case, this is an important matter that will come up before the Public Service Commission beginning on April 9, following circulation of a detailed notice that replaces the rather vague one previously distributed. Let your feet do the walking to the hearing. It could make a big difference to you.

SELMA REIN: Those active in the peace, civil liberties and statehood movements in these parts are sure to seen or met Selma Rein in the course of their travels. What they might not have known was that Selma's activism went back decades, beginning fifty years ago at Brooklyn College. She organized federal workers for the CIO; she worked in the Progressive Party; she was a key member of the Statehood Party during its formative period; she was active in the local committee to abolish the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and a longtime member of the National Lawyers Guild. And through it all, she was a delight to have around when the going was either tough or just boring, because she exuded energy, wisdom and a sense of the joy that was possible in trying to make things right. Selma died recently after a long bout of illness. She was, among so many other things, a good friend of this journal and not having the prospect of her phone calls, filled with ideas and wit, makes this place sadder and lonelier.

FROM OUR LITTLE BLACK BOOK: Jewish vegetarians, you are not alone. There is an organization called Jewish Vegetarians that operates out of Baltimore (PO Box 1463). You can reach them at 301-752-VEGV. . . . Fans of baseball in DC can join the Washington Senators' Fan Club, PO Box 46679, DC 20050 (642-8755). . . . Resolve is an organization that offers counseling, referral and support services to people with impaired fertility. You can reach them at 352-4106

RENT CONTROL MUDDLES: A tip of the hat to local activist Gottlieb Simon who put straight some myths about rent control in a recent letter to the Post. Simon pointed out that the Post complained that rent control had not increased the supply of affordable housing. In fact, said Simon, that was not one of the jobs of rent control any more than rationing during the oil embargo was supposed to increase the supply of gas. Simon also noted the lack of evidence that rent control had caused abandonment. As was pointed out here last month, abandonment was a problem before rent control. Further, Simon pointed out that an Urban League study of abandonment found that New York City (which has had rent control



APRIL ACTION NEEDS HELP: The April mobilization for peace, jobs and justice has a variety of needs including office equipment, office supplies, a vehicle, volunteers and, of course money. Write April Actions DC Support, Box 2598, DC 20013.

LUTHERAN SOCIAL SERVICES needs families to adopt black infants. Info: 829-7605.

THE HIGHER ACHIEVEMENT PROGRAM is looking for volunteers to help tutor students from DC's inner city schools in reading and math. Volunteers are needed one or two nights a week from 630 to 830 pm at any one of 7 centers in the city. HAP's goal is to help the better students from the poorest schools achieve their potential. Info: 842-1650.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for a long time) ranked fifth in amount of abandonment — behind four cities with rent control.

TAX RETREAT: That infamous attempt by the Barry administration to raise more taxes by excessive restrictions on exemptions to non-profit organizations including hospitals and churches has been withdrawn. Now Barry says he'll involve the non-profits in drawing up new regulations and claims his new director of Finance and Revenue just "moved too quickly." But representatives of the groups think there was more to it than that. Says James Kalish, director of the Washington council of Agencies, "I don't know why they didn't withdraw them when we first asked four weeks ago. They thought they could slip them through."

MALPRACTICE GONE WILD: In one of the largest malpractice verdicts ever handed down in these parts, a DC Superior court jury awarded a woman $5 million in a case involving massive bleeding and loss of a pituitary gland after childbirth. The woman said the treatment had left her unable to bear children. . . . If the city council wants to look into an area that really needs some legislative remedy, the malpractice mess is it. It would be a lot more useful than telling vendors what their carts have to look like. . . . This is suggested because it is clear the council is running out of ideas for new legislation, witness the following announcement received from the office of John Ray:

"Councilmember John Ray today introduced pioneering legislation to regulate the practice of surrogate parenting and embryo transfers, prohibit the payment of fees to surrogate mothers, and establish safeguards for children born through surrogate arrangements. Ray also announced that he has re-introduced companion legislation to license and regulate sperm banks. . . . "

Michael Schauer wants to house the horses of his Mall buggy business in a stable under the Southwest Freeway but the local ANC rejected the idea. . . . Responding to a complaint from the local chapter of Common Cause about the use of DC funds to campaign against the homeless initiative, the Board of Elections counsel said that law is ambiguous but that the action was "ill-advised." The Office of Campaign Finance said it wasn't in their legal turf. So now CC has asked the board to make a determination on the legality of such expenditures. . . . **The money Mitch Snyder will get for the TV movie on his activities will go to pay off creditors of the Community for Creative Non-Violence and to help cover CCNV's $10,000 a month budget. No word on the name of the film, probably not "Life on the Fast Track.".** . . . Two women have filed suit against Ridgewell's charging sex discrimination by illegally segregating men and women into different jobs at catering functions.

AND NOW THE GOOD NEWS: Since the Review beats up on Marion Barry with fair consistency, I feel honor-bound to pass on this vignette. Recently, a neighbor told me that she had received a water bill from the city, apparently an attempt to correct the fact the city hadn't read the meter for four years, and had just been estimating it. The new bill came to over $1000 and had to be paid in a matter of days or the water would be turned off. The neighbor was understandably more than a little perturbed. She asked me what to do. I told her I thought that her chances of straightening it all out without having to pay the bill were slim, but suggested she call her ward councilmember, an at-large member, her neighborhood commissioner, a television station and the mayor's office. I thought maybe enough people asking questions might slow the water shut-off. Well, the next morning, early, she started calling. No one was in at the council offices, so with little hope she

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dialed the mayor's office. The aide there immediately put her in contact with the director of water billing who not only was sympathetic but came out that evening to personally inspect the meter and check the house for water leaks. He then scheduled a conference to reach a settlement on the matter. This is the way government is supposed to work and it's nice to hear that it does sometimes.

WILSON

to reduce leaks was to reduce secrecy. He made the convincing point that where secrecy is indiscriminate, it ceases to be effective. Far better to make as much information available as possible, so that that which should remain secret can be better kept secure and can be kept secure on the basis of a national consensus about what should and should not be confidential.

An even bigger question is the relationship between civil servants and ministers, which has been damaged by the Thatcherite approach of attacking civil servants even while demanding their total loyalty, and in particular by the Ponting case. In his summing up, the judge argued that the interests of the state were the same as the interests of the government of the day. It was this thesis which Ponting effectively challenged, and which the jury would not accept.

By clearing Ponting, who admitted the leaks, the jury was saying that it felt the leaks were justified, and thus that Ponting had acted in a higher interest than that of the government of the day. This, however, is the verdict of just one jury, and it is as unacceptable to Mrs. Thatcher and her ministers as it is entirely acceptable to the majority of thinking people in the country.

Clearly the matter cannot be left there. Some way must be found to further debate the question and resolve it. That debate will be a fascinating one.

In the meantime, Americans might like to consider the widely-held view that on the basis of our recent experiences in Britain, a Watergate in this country would have been more difficult to expose, and that, unlike the Nixon Administration, it is quite possible that British ministers, using the Heseltine technique, could survive it.

STONE

Employment Opportunity Wage and private ownership of low-income public housing.

But in his eagerness to birth a "second American revolution," he has racially polarized this nation.

I don't hold Ronald Reagan responsible for the sins of past Democratic—and Republican—administrations in creating and fostering a dependency syndrome among black Americans.

But it is time to break that depressive cycle.

We can if both the Republican president and the Muslim minister can reach out to each other from their respective ideological barricades and translate the economic good sense of their messages into a social good action of togetherness.

Philadelphia Daily News

CRACKS

that it is not carrying nuclear weapons, as has New Zealand's Lange. Rather, they have—publicly at least—accepted the polite fiction that U.S. vessels routinely offload their nuclear weapons before entering Japanese waters.

Should Japan's citizenry, spurred on by New Zealand's example, demand enforcement of the Non-Nuclear Principles, the United States could lose one of its most crucial forward bases. Given these stakes, it is no surprise that the Reagan Administration has set out to demonstrate to its allies they cannot pick and choose what elements of U.S. military power are acceptable—and get off "cost free," as one official phrased it.

Down the road, the United States could chart one of two courses.

Should the chinks in the Western Alliance's nuclear consensus continue to widen, the U.S. could punish those who reject its nuclear weapons and retire into a "Fortress America," abristle with atomic weaponry. Or, it could realistically acknowledge the profound change in public feeling about nuclear weapons and reconsider the nuclearization of conventional, general-purpose military forces.

Should the United States choose to retain its alliances but cut back on its tactical nukes, the Lange affair may one day be seen not as an end of an alliance, but the beginning of a military policy that is both more effective and which enjoys wider public support.

Copyright PNS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR BOOKSHELF

THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA: Ernest Hemingway's tragic yet triumphant story of an old Cuban fisherman and his supreme ordeal -- a relentless, agonizing battle with a giant marlin out in the Gulf Stream. $2.50

FAREWELL TO ARMS: Ernest Hemingway. $4.95

MOBY DICK: Herman Melville. $10.95

THE PORTABLE STEINBECK: Of Mice and Men and The Red Pony complete. Portions of The Long Valley, Tortilla Flat, The Grapes of Wrath, Cannery Row and Travels with Charlie. The Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech. $6.95

JOHN UPDIKE: RABBIT IS RICH $3.95
BARBARA CHASE-RIBOUD: SALLY HEMMINGS $2.75
JANE AUSTEN: PRIDE AND PREJUDICE $1.50
PORTABLE SHAKESPEARE $6.95
PORTABLE ARTHUR MILLER $6.95
PORTABLE HENRY JAMES $6.95
PORTABLE VOLTAIRE $6.95

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009

Please send the following items. I enclose check or money order

ITEM	PRICE
TOTAL	
6% TAX (DC only).	
POSTAGE & HANDLING. . . .	$1.00
PAY THIS AMOUNT	

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
.....ZIP.....

[ ] Check here if you are not already a subscriber and we'll send you a free trial subscription with your order.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERNEST HEMINGWAY; FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS: $4.95
PORTABLE PLATO: $6.95

HOW TO PHOTOGRAPH PEOPLE: $4.95

THE PORTABLE MILTON: 'Paradise Lost,' 'Paradise Regained,' and 'Samson Agonistes' complete. Selection of poems and prose works. ~~$6.95~~ ~~$5~~ $4

FOR CHILDREN
THE TALE OF PETER RABBIT: ~~$1.95~~ $1

HUGH JOHNSON'S POCKET ENYCLOPEDIA OF WINE. This guide, which you can peruse discreetly in the liquor store, list the wines of 18 countries complete with data on taste and vintage plus a rating. Also included is a quick reference chart for wines from France and Germany. ~~$5.95~~ ~~$4~~ $3

THE PORTABLE MARK TWAIN: Huckleberry Finn and the Mysterious Stranger complete. Selections from A Connecticut Yankee, Puddn'head Wilson, the Autobiography and other works. Letters, essays, and The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County. ~~$6.95~~ ~~$5~~ ~~$4~~ $3

ROBERT FROST'S POEMS: An anthology accompanied by an introduction and commentary by Louis Untermeyer ~~$3.95.~~ ~~$2~~ $1

NICOLAS NICKLEBY by Charles Dickens: ~~$4.50~~ ~~$3~~ $2

DC MAGAZINES: A LITERARY RETROSPECTIVE. This work contains an anthology of pieces from three of Washington's most important literary magazines: Portfolio, Voyages and Dryad. Editor Richard Peabody has also included a listing of literary magazines published here from the 18th century on and a list of alternative newspapers and arts magazines published since the sixties. Was $7.95, now only ~~$6.00~~ ~~$5.00~~ ~~$4.00~~ ~~3.00~~ $2.00

THE PORTABLE HAWTHORNE: 'The Scarlet Letter' complete selections from 'the House of Seven Gables,' 'The Blitheside Romance,' 'The Marble Faun,' and thirteen tales. Also selections from notebooks and letters. ~~$6.95~~ ~~$5~~ ~~$4~~ $3

RICHARD BACH: JONATHAN LIVINGSTON SEAGULL ~~$2.50~~ $2
JOHN UPDIKE: RABBIT RUN ~~$3.50~~ ~~$2~~ $1

THE STORIES OF JOHN CHEEVER ~~$3.50~~ ~~$2~~ $1
HOMER: THE ODYSSEY. ~~2.25~~ $1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Progressive Review
1739 Connecticut Ave NW
Washington DC 20009
ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Free Trial Subscription!

We would like to introduce you and your friends to the Review , the off-Broadway of Washington journalism that has been comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable for more than seventeen years. If you or they are not a past or present subscriber, we will be glad to send you or them a FREE trial subscription. Just fill out the form below and mail it to us. Of course, if you already believe in what we are doing, we would welcome our $6 subscription fee or a $20 supporting subscription. If you do send in the regular fee, we will send you a copy of "Flotsam & Jetsam," a collection of Review editor Sam Smith's essays published on these pages over the years.

Mail to: PROGRESSIVE REVIEW, 1739 Conn. Ave NW DC 20009

Yes, you can send us more names if you wish.

Please send a free trial subscription to:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ ZIP _____

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ ZIP _____

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ ZIP _____

COMPLIMENTS OF _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED